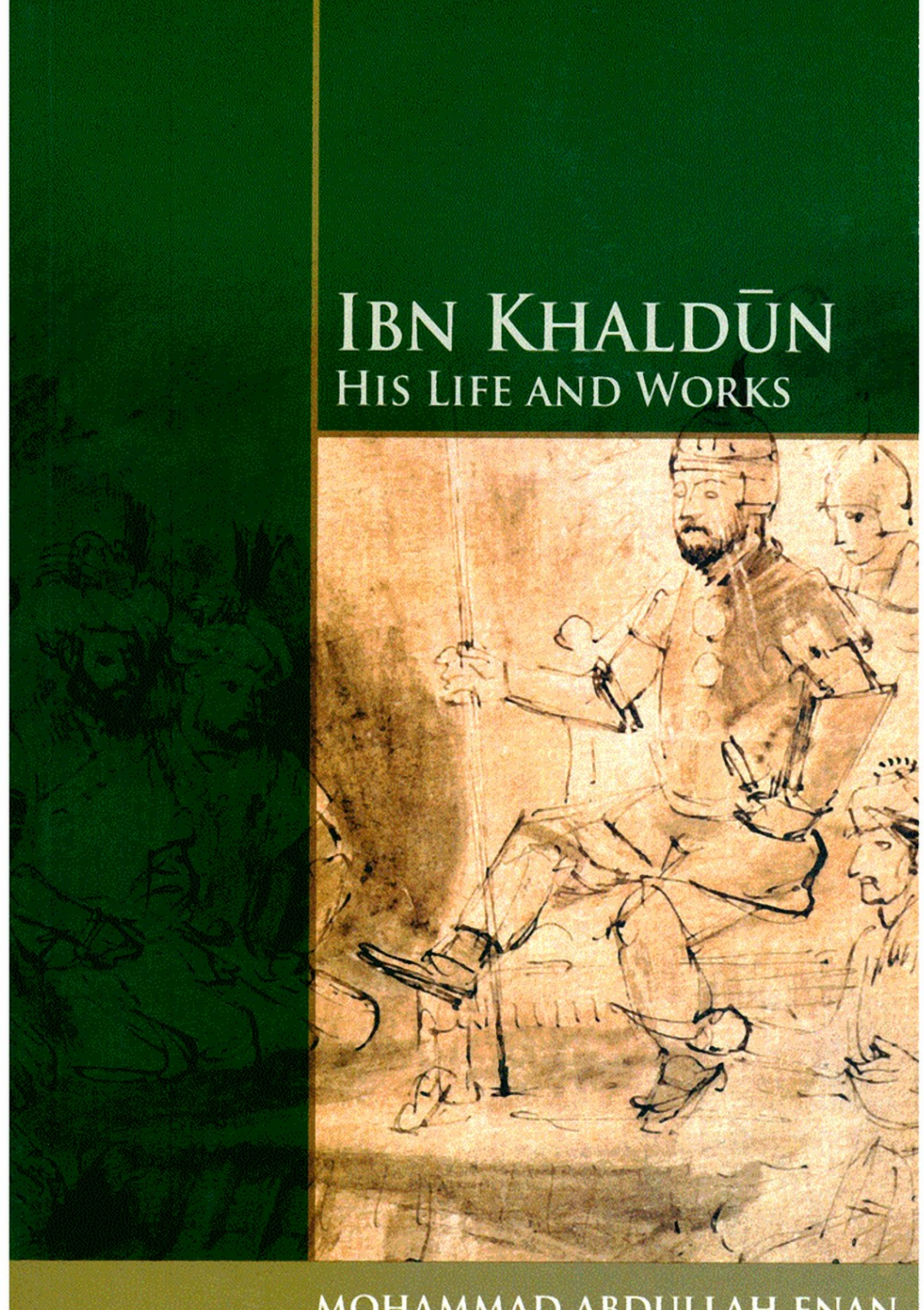
IBN KHALDŪN
HIS LIFE AND WORKS



MOHAMMAD ABDULLAH ENAN

IBÑ KHÃLDÛN

His Life and Works

By

Mohammad Abdullah Enan

Formerly of the Egyptian Bar
Assistant Director of Press Department
Ministry of the Interior, Cairo
Lecturer at the Faculty of Arts, University Fouad I



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Kitab Bhavan
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Phones : 3274686, 3277392-93
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THE LIFE OF IBN KHALDUN

PART I

In North Africa and Andalusia

732-784 A.H., 1332-1382 A.D.

FOREWORD

The intellectual legacy of Ibn Khaldun is unique among the works of Muslim thought and, notwithstanding the lapse of centuries, still maintains its value, vigour and modernity, and occupies a high place among the monuments of world thought. But Ibn Khaldun, whom the West discovered and, for more than a century, studied, criticised and analysed, is not fully appreciated in the East; his memory is forgotten and his legacy is cast into oblivion. While in the West various books and critical studies have been written about the man and his work, there has almost been nothing of the sort in the East, his home and the owner of his patrimony.

It is gratifying to note, however, that Ibn Khaldun has lately been spoken of and an appeal made to revive his memory on the occasion of the six hundredth[1] anniversary of his birth. Intellectual and literary circles in all the Arabic-speaking countries responded to this generous appeal, several meetings were held to evoke his memory and his immortal works, particularly in Tunis, his birthplace and the cradle of his fame, and in Egypt, the home of his old age and his last resting place. The Arabic press was for some time busy with publishing studies about him, thus vividly evoking his memory and directing attention to his legacy.

1. This was in 1932.

As Ibn Khaldun was foremost among the Muslim thinkers, I knew and studied him in my younger days. He deeply impressed me as being the foremost among the historians whose comprehension of history, its value and criticism, I greatly admired. This study, which I present to introduce Ibn Khaldun and his legacy, is a token of the gratitude of a disciple to his master. The six hundredth anniversary of the birth of the great historian and philosopher was the right occasion for writing this study.

I have carefully followed the life of Ibn Khaldun closely and have explained the political events in which he took part and with which he was connected. As his life formed part of the history of the Berber states in the middle of the eighth century A.H., I have dealt at greater length on the history of these states and the changes which took place in them at that time, and have tried to explain their political institutions. Likewise I have taken great interest in the life of Ibn Khaldun in Egypt, and dealt at great length with it, explaining the relations of the historian with the intellectual Egyptian society, and the controversy between him and the Egyptian writers.

As for the legacy of Ibn Khaldun, I propose to give a simple exposition and to avoid polemics and complicated comparisons, being careful at the same time to review points of interest and useful discu-s sion. My object is to present in a clear, concise manner the legacy of Ibn Khaldun to cultured

youth, so that when they understand and appreciate it they can take up Ibn Khaldun's work, read and study it carefully and fully. As for the study of Western research of Ibn Khaldun, and its appreciation, analysis and comparison of his thought and theories, I have reserved a special chapter giving a complete purport of all that has been written on the subject.

I have likewise given a bibliographical note of *Kitab al-Ibar* showing the phases through which it passed till it was completely published, the manuscripts consulted, the parts translated into European languages, and the manuscript copies of it in the various libraries. This is followed by a detailed bibliography of all the Arabic and Western sources I consulted, in which Ibn Khaldun and his legacy are studied, to be read by those who wish to go deeper into the subject.

Although an ancient thinker, Ibn Khaldun should be a master to the youth of Arabic and Islamic world, and his Prolegomena should be often read by them, not only to admire his marvellous thought and research, but also to learn from it the methods of expression of many social theories, which otherwise are difficult to express, because if the Prolegomena of Ibn Khaldun is an inestimable wealth in the intellectual legacy of Arabic literature, it is also an inestimable wealth of Arabic rhetoric.

I present to the cultured youth in all Arabic and Muslim countries this study of a distinguished per-

sonality in the history of Muslim thought, a great original spirit who anticipated the West in laying down the principles of sociology and is still the object of admiration and appreciation by Western research, hoping that the youth will find in this study an incentive to read, understand and profit by the valuable legacy of Ibn Khaldun.

M.A. Enan

Cairo:
October 1933

CHAPTER I

The Early Life of Ibn Khaldun

Banu Khaldun, their origin in Andalusia and their predominance in public life. Their emigration to North Africa. Muhammad ibn Khaldun, the historian's father. The childhood of Ibn Khaldun and early studies. Death of his parents and friends in the great plague. His appointment to the post of Seal Bearer at the court of Tunis.

THE year 1932 inspired an immortal memory of Islamic thought. It was the six hundredth anniversary of the birth of Ibn Khaldun, the historian, politician and social philosopher. As the words of this great thinker occupy a most important place in the legacy of Arabic thought, it is fit and proper that this memory should be an occasion to study his life and works, as, notwithstanding his great fame, neither his life nor his works, though valuable and original, have received from our contemporary thought the attention and criticism they are worthy of.

Ibn Khaldun has left us his own biography. He recorded with his own pen the events of his life from his childhood almost to the close of his life. He represented for us much of his character and psychological disposition, so that we at first think, in reading this exhaustive autobiography of the historian, that he did not leave to his biographer an occasion for much thought and that his task would be confined to reproduction. There is much truth in this supposition, for Ibn Khaldun is the

most fertile and important of our sources in all that concerns his life and the events of his time. But the task of the modern biographer is not merely to record events. Even if there is no necessity to verify facts, there is always the question of appreciation and moral education as well as the difference in the various points of view. If Ibn Khaldun gives us his biography and the events of his time connected with his life, he narrates them according to his own comprehension and point of view. He might have been often partial or influenced by his sentiments. To find out the truth through all these factors is a difficult task. If, therefore, we on the one hand welcome this autobiography of the historian, and if it facilitates the task of his biographer, we feel, on the other hand, in a difficult position on many occasions where we notice traces of sentiment or partiality.

The legacy of the historian is thus the principal source for his biography. But happily it is not our only source; there are other sources and biographies worthy of investigation, particularly about his life in Egypt; these we shall consult too. We shall follow the phases of his life through all this legacy, but we shall try to understand them in the light of pure truth, apart from influences and passions.

I

Ibn Khaldun was born in Tunis on Ramadan 1, 732 A.H. (May 27, 1332 A.D.) and belonged to an Andalusian family which had emigrated from Andalusia (Muslim Spain) to Tunis in the middle of the seventh century of the Hijra. He is Wali al-Din Abd-ul-Rahman, son of Muhammad, son of Muhammad, son of Muhammad, son of Al-Hasan, son of Jabir, son of Muhammad, son of Ibrahim, son of Abdul Rahman ibn Khaldun. Ibn Khaldun attributes his origin to the Yemenite Arabs of Hadramaut, and his genealogy to Wail ibn Hajar, relying for this on the report of the Andalusian genealogist Ibn Hazm.[1] He, however, doubts the authenticity of this genealogical tree and believes that many names were left out of it, for if Khaldun was his grandfather who entered Andalusia at the time of the Arab conquest, ten generations would not be enough to cover the six-and-a-half centuries which elapsed from the conquest to his birth. In his opinion it needed twenty at the rate of three generations per century. As for the genealogy of his grandfather Khaldun, who was the first to enter Andalusia, he is, as also reported by Ibn Hazm, Khalid known by the name of Khaldun, son of Osman, son of Hani, son of Al-Khattab, son of Kuraib, son of Maadi Karib, son of Al-Haris, son of Wail, son of Hajar. Thus, according to this genealogy, Ibn Khaldun is a scion of one of the oldest Arab Yemenite tribes. But there is reason to doubt the authenticity of this distant genealogy recorded by Ibn Hazm for the first time in the fifth century of the Hijra, and this doubt is strengthened by our knowledge of the circumstances

1 Ibn Hazm died in 457 A.H., 1065 A.D.

of antagonism and rivalry between the Arabs and the Berbers in Andalusia. The Berbers took part in the conquest of Andalusia and bore the greatest burden, while the Arabs alone enjoyed authority and rule. This antagonism lasted very long till the Arab racial predominance declined and the Berbers began to dominate in the early part of the fifth century. To be of Arab origin was considered, in Andalusia, a coveted honour on account of their dominance and influence. But doubt entered into the genealogies of many chief and racial leaders; indeed, it found its way into the genealogies of many principal conquerors. It was said of Tariq ibn Ziyad that he was a Berber, a Persian, or a *mawla* (slave) of the Arabs. There is, however, reason to wonder at the attachment of Ibn Khaldun to his Arab origin, for, in his Prolegomena, he shows strong antagonism and prejudice to the Arabs, while in another part of his history he praises the Berbers and extols their character and qualities.

In any case Ibn Khaldun belonged to a prominent, influential family of Andalusia which belonged to the age of conquest. His great-grandfather Khalid, known by the name of Khaldun, entered Andalusia with the Yemenite troops and at first settled in the town of Caramona where he founded his family. His descendants then moved to Seville, but Banu Khaldun appeared on the scene only at the end of the third century during the reign of Emir Abdulla ibn Muhammad, the Omayyad (274-300 A.H.), in

whose days Andalusia was raging with dissension and revolution extending over many parts of the country. Seville was foremost among the rebellious cities, where Umayya ibn Abd al-Ghafir, Abdulla ibn al-Hajjaj and Kuraib and Khalid, sons of Khaldun, all of whom were chiefs of great families, raised the standard of revolt. Umayya was the governor of the city under Emir Muhammad. He rebelled and assumed absolute power and killed ibn al-Hajjaj, but the families of Khaldun and of Al-Hajjaj severely opposed him and fought him till he was killed. Kuraib ibn Khaldun assumed absolute authority and declared himself ruler of the principality of Seville. But the family of Al-Hajjaj rose against him, and their leader Ibrahim became the ally of Ibn Hafsun, who was at that time the greatest rebel of Andalusia and had conquered its southern part between Malaga and Ronda. Kuraib apprehended him and associated him in the government of Seville. Kuraib being severe and cruel was disliked by the inhabitants of Seville who sided with Ibrahim for his kindness and leniency. Ibrahim approached Emir Abdulla and secretly obtained from him a decree making him ruler of Seville. He then led the inhabitants of the city against Kuraib and killed him, and made himself sole Emir and so became powerful. Banu Khaldun continued to live in Seville during the whole of the Omayyad rule without, however, obtaining prominence till the days of the Petty Kings (Al-Tawaif) and the conquest of Seville by Ibn Abbad. It was then that the star of the family again rose

and attained the vizierate and other high posts under Banu Abbad, and its chiefs witnessed the famous battle of Zallaka in which Ibn Abbad and his ally Yusuf ibn Tashfin, the Almoravide, defeated Alphonso VI, King of Castille (479 A.H. 1086 A.D.) and some of them fell in that battle. Then came the speedy downfall of the Petty Kings, and the Almoravides ruled over Muslim Spain for a time. The Almohades then rose in Mauritania and wrenched Andalusia from the Almoravides and appointed their own chief rulers of its provinces and cities, when Abu Hafs, leader of the Hintata tribe, became ruler of Seville and Western Andalusia and was succeeded by his sons. Banu Khaldun came in touch with the new rulers and regained some of their old authority.

When the empire of the Almohades declined and the affairs of Andalusia were disturbed and its principal cities and ports withered and fell on after the other into the hands of the King of Castille, Emir Abu Zakaria al-Hafsi, grandson of Abu Hafs, emigrated to Tunis in the year 620 A.H. (1223 A.D.), cast away the authority of the Almohades, son of Abd al-Momin, and declared himself an independent ruler. Banu Khaldun, apprehending evil consequences, left Seville before it fell into the hands of the Christians and settled for a time in Ceuta where its governor, a Hafsite, welcomed them. The then head of the family, Al-Hasan ibn Muhammad ibn Khaldun, the fourth grandfather of the historian,

followed Abu Zakaria, the Emir of Bona where he enjoyed his patronage and munificence. On his death Emir Zakaria was succeeded by his son Al-Mustansir, then by his son Yahia and later by his brother Abu Ishaq. In the meantime Banu Khaldun enjoyed authority and opulence. In the days of Abu Ishaq, Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn Khaldun, the historian's great grandfather, was appointed minister, and his son Muhammad chamberlain for a time to Abu Faris, son and crown-prince of Abu Ishaq, who at that time was the independent ruler of Bougie. Later the authority of Banu Hafs was shaken, and a leader named Ibn Abi Emara revolted and occupied Tunis and arrested Abu Bakr ibn Khaldun, murdered him and confiscated his property. His son Muhammad remained at the court of Bougie, and took part in the combats then raging between Banu Hafs and the rebers and occupied various posts under the former. The chief of the Almohades, Emir Abu Yahia al-Lihyani, then conquered Tunis in the year 711 A.H. and appointed him chamberlain for a time. He then retired from public life, but he maintained his position and influence in the state till he died in 737 A.H. (1337 A.D). As for his son Muhammad, the historian's father, he had no state for politics and preferred a life of study, excelling in jurisprudence, philology and poetry. He died in the great plague in 749 A.H. (1349 A.D.) leaving several children: Abu Zaid Wali al-Din, the historian, then a youth of eighteen, Omar, Musa, Yahia, and

Muhammad, the eldest of them. Besides the historian, only Yahia, who later became minister, attained prominence.

II

Ibn Khaldun was thus the descendant of an old, prominent and learned family. He was brought up in the cradle of this legacy which he inherited from his family, guided by its fortunes and traditions. He was bred in the lap of his father who was his first teacher. He read the Qur-an and learned it by heart, and studied different modes of recitation and interpretation, as well as the Hadith and jurisprudence. He was taught grammar and rhetoric by the most noted professors of Tunis which was at the time the centre of learning in North Africa[1] and the home of a number of Andalusian scholars who were dispersed by events or found their own country inhospitable. Ibn Khaldun gives us the names of his teachers in every branch of science, and fully describes their lives and qualities. He also mentions the names of some of the books he studied, and it appears from his writings that he excelled to a certain extent in the Hadith and Maliki jurisprudence, philology and poetry.[2] He then studied logic and philosophy in the course of his public life, and refers to his proficiency in both of them.[3] "All his teachers acknowledged his abilities and gave him

1. We mean here North Africa with the exception of Egypt.

2. See Ibn Khaldun's Autobiography (*Al-Taarif*) *Kitab al-Ibar* (Bulak), Vol vii, pp 384-85.

3. *Kitab al-Ibar*, Vol. vii, pp. 336 and 391.

their Ijaza."[1]

Ibn Khaldun continued his studies till he attained the age of eighteen. It was then that North Africa was afflicted with that great calamity which befell the whole of the Muslim world from Samarkand to Mauritania—we mean the Great Plague or the "sweeping plague" as it is called by Ibn Khaldun. It was the same epidemic that raged in Italy and most of the European countries, and described by Boccacio, an eye-witness, in the most vivid colours. In this calamity which befell the East and the West alike in 1349 A D. (749 A.H.) the historian lost both his parents and all his professors, and most of the inhabitants of Tunis also died. Ibn Khaldun refers more than once, in touching terms, to this calamity, and says: "It folded the carpet with all there was on it," and, "the notables, the leaders and all the learned died, as well as my parents on whom be God's mercy." He then says that he was so aggrieved by the loss of his parents and teachers that he found it hard to continue to study, so he decided to emigrate to Mauritania where some of his professors and friends had gone, but was dissuaded by his eldest brother Muhammad. Not long after he had the occasion to enter into public life, when Abu Muhamman ibn Tafrakin, the despot of Tunis, summoned him to fill the post of the Seal Bearer to the young Sultan Abu Ishaq who was then his captive.

1. The *Ijaza* is a sort of certificate or diploma given by the Shaikh (Professor) to his students.

The Seal Bearer (Secretary of Al-Alama) had to affix the name and the cypher of the Sultan on the royal correspondence and decrees. The historian was at that time a youth under twenty.

CHAPTER II

Ibn Khaldun at the Court of Fez.

Political organisation of Africa in the eighth century A H. Banu Hafs, Banu Abd al-Wad and Mareen. Sultan Abul Hassan and his conquest of Tunis. Conditions of the states and courts of North Africa. The effect of political developments on the intellectual movement. Ibn Khaldun's flight from Tunis. His introduction to Sultan Abu Enan, King of Morocco. His appointment to the post of Secretary and Seal Bearer. His ambition and aspiration. His participation in court intrigues. Accusation of conspiracy against him. Imprisonment and adversity. His release by the Vizier Hassan ibn Omar, and restoration to his former post. He seized the opportunity and turned against Vizier ibn Omar His propaganda in favour of Sultan Abu Salem ; and conspiracy against Sultan Mansur. The accession of Abu Salem The appointment of Ibn Khaldun to the post of Secretary. Poems and prose of Ibn Khaldun His appointment to the post of principal judge. The downfall and murder of Abu Salem. The domination of Vizier Omar ibn Abdulla and Ibn Khaldun supporting him. Misunderstanding between him and the Vizier. His decision to emigrate to Andalusia.

I

BEFORE following the historian in the phases of his public life and movements in the states and courts of North Africa, we would say a few words about the conditions of these states and courts.

North Africa was at the close of the seventh century of the Hijira the theatre of violent political upheavals. The empire of the Almohades broke down, and on its ruins rose several small states and principalities. There arose in Tunis the Emirate of Banu Hafs, in Tlemcen and in the Middle Barbary (Algeria) the Emirate of Banu Abd al-Wad, in Fez and Morocco the Kingdom of Banu Mareen. There also arose under the auspices of these kingdoms

and beyond them small principalities in some cities and ports through strong rebels and leaders. The greater portion in the heritage of Almohades fell to Banu Mareen (the Merinites) whose kingdom was the largest and most powerful, comprising Mauritania (Morocco), Ceuta, a part of Middle Barbary and sometimes Gibraltar. Their leader and the founder of their dynasty was Sultan Abu Yusuf Yacoub ibn Abd al-Haq who invaded Andalusia more than once, and died in 685 A.H. (1286 A.D.). He was succeeded on the throne by several powerful kings. At the time we speak of, Sultan Abul Hassan sat on the throne of Fez. He succeeded to the throne on the death of his father Sultan Abu Saeed in 731 A.H. (1330 A.D.). He was ambitious and had great projects. In 733 A.H. he invaded Gibraltar and wrenched it from the Christians. He then marched to Middle Barbary, and conquered its ports one after the other from the hands of Banu Abd al Wad till he occupied Tlemcen, the seat of their realm, in 737 A.H. Thus the kingdom of Banu Mareen extended to the east as far as the frontiers of Tunis. Sultan Abul Hassan then planned to conquer Tunis from Banu Hafs, their relatives and friends. He marched on to it in the beginning of 748 A.H. after appointing his son, Sultan Abu Enan, ruler of the Middle Barbary. He wrenched Tunis from the hands of its king, Omar ibn Abi Yahya, and spent two years there settling its affairs. But during his absence insurrection broke out in Morocco and many ports rebelled against him. When he heard that his son Sultan Abu Enan intended to usurp the throne, he appointed his son Al-Fadl ruler of Tunis and left for Morocco in 750 A.H. In the meantime Banu Hafs prepared to reconquer their country and were helped by the ports which acknowledged their authority. As soon as Abul Hassan left Tunis Maulai al-Fadl, son of Sultan Abu Yahya, marched and took possession of it and restored the authority of his family. Not long after, Vizier Ibn Tafrakin rebelled and usurped the throne from him and appointed his young brother Abu Ishaq King under his patronage and tyrannical regency. This was in 751 A H.

Such were the conditions of the North African states in the middle of the eighth century of the Hijira. Revolutions and political upheavals were continuous, and kingdoms succeeded one another, through different usurpers and dynasties. There arose successive small principalities in the middle cities and ports, as Bougie, Constantine, Bona and Tlemcen with endless battles for their conquest. All the thrones of North Africa trembled in the hands of fate, and thus their courts were the seats of ambition and rivalry, the centres of intrigues and plots and the goal of the chiefs and rivals seeking surpremacy and power. Thrones and Emirates were constantly changing hands and wars and civil combats constantly raged between dynasties or branches of the same dynasty. Yet those disturbed courts flourished in the few intervals of peace and vied with each other

in splendour and luxury and attracted intellectual and literary man. Banu Hafs and Banu Mareen were particularly the protectors of scholars and men of letters who gathered around them enjoying their patronage and munificence and occupying posts of influence and confidence. It is to be remarked in the history of North Africa, during this interval, that the intellectual movement flourished, settled and moved according to the conditions and vicissitudes of these states, and, like the states, was always disturbed and unsettled; and that no sooner it gathered round a certain court than it hastened to another when it began to decay. As the intellectual movement in North Africa, at that time, always gathered and moved round its states and courts, it likewise moved constantly between North Africa and Muslim Spain. Granada was still the cradle of a brilliant intellectual movement, but Andalusia was too crowded with its scholars and men of letters particularly as the Christian kingdom of Castille had deprived it of some of its provinces, and conquered most of its ports and towns. It was for this reason that many Andalusian scholars and men of letters emigrated to North Africa which offered greater possibilities, better security and where it was easier to earn a livelihood.

It was in these conditions that Ibn Khaldun began his public life. Since their emigration to Africa, in the middle of the seventh century A.H., Banu Khaldun enjoyed the patronage of Banu Hafs

and occupied posts of honour and influence. But the Hafsite dynasty was at that time declining, and the family of the historian lost much of its former influence and prosperity. Ibn Khaldun naturally aspired to regain the legacy of his family and revive its declining influence. The head of the young man was no doubt full of ambition and projects and he availed himself of the first opportunity to enter the field of public life when Ibn Tafrakin summoned him, as already stated, to fill the post of the Seal Bearer to his captive Sultan Abu Ishaq about the end of 751 A.H. (1350 A.D.). But Ibn Khaldun apprehended the weakness of the government of Tunis and its disturbed condition. Banu Mareen had occupied Tunis for two years, as already mentioned, and Ibn Khaldun witnessed their power and the greatness of their empire. When Sultan Abul Hassan left Tunis for Morocco, most of the intellectuals who were professors and colleagues of Ibn Khaldun followed his suite, preferring to seek their fortune under the patronage of this strong, victorious kingdom and hoping to acquire honour and riches which could no more be realised in Tunis. Such an inspiration filled the soul of the historian, but his elder brother dissuaded him for a time. When he was summoned to be the Seal Bearer, he watched for an opportunity to emigrate to Morocco to seek his fortune and try to realise his ambitions wherever the horizon of adventure seemed wider and more advantageous.

II

It was not long before this opportunity came. Early in 753 A.H. the Emir of Constantine, Abu Zaid, the grandson of Sultan Yahya, marched with his forces to Tunis to conquer it and regain the legacy of his family from the grasp of the usurping minister Ibn Tafrakin. Ibn Tafrakin marched to meet him and was accompanied by Ibn Khaldun. Several combats were fought in which the army of Tunis was defeated, and Ibn Khaldun secretly withdrew from the vanquished camp seeking safety. He lived for a time with some Almoravide shaikhs in Aba. He then went to Ceuta and afterwards returned to Cafsa where he was joined by some *faqihs* of Tunis which was then besieged by the Emir of Constantine. From there he accompanied them to Biskra where he passed the winter season.

Meanwhile Sultan Abul Hassan, King of Morocco died (Rabi 11, 752 A.H.) shortly after the revolt of his son Sultan Abu Enan against him and his occupation of Fez. Abu Enan was a powerful and determined prince. No sooner he settled on the throne of his father than he began to make preparations to conquer Middle Barbary (Algeria) and recapture Tlemcen which his father had conquered from Banu Abd al-Wad but which had been retaken by them a few years later. He marched on it early in 753 A.H., conquered it and killed its King Abu Saeed. He then took possession of Bougie through the submission of its ruler. At that time Ibn Khaldun who

was in Biskra went to meet Sultan Abu Enan in Tlemcen. The historian tells us that the Sultan honoured him more than he had expected, and sent him back with his chamberlain Ibn Abi Amr to Bougie where he witnessed the enthronement and submission of the city. When the chamberlain returned to the Sultan, accompanied by many delegations, Ibn Khaldun went with them and was received again and honoured by the Sultan. The Sultan then returned to Fez, the capital of his realm, and Ibn Khaldun with Ibn Abi Amr returned to Bougie and remained with him to the close of the year 754 A.H. (1353 A.D.).

Ibn Khaldun joined the suit of Sultan Abu Enan very soon. He tells us that it was the Sultan who summoned him when his name was mentioned in a meeting held to choose the Ulama (scholars). He arrived in Fez in the year 755 A.H. and was appointed by the Sultan member of his academy (Council of Ulama), and was ordered to attend prayers with him. The Sultan continued to promote him till he was appointed one of his secretaries and seal bearers. But Ibn Khaldun tells us that he accepted this post reluctantly, because it was not among the posts occupied by his ancestors; in other words, because it was inferior to them in dignity and importance, which proves the ambitions which filled the mind of the historian in spite of his youth. He was, however, able to resume his studies, during his stay at Fez, with some of the principal scholars

who came there from Andalusia and other cities of North Africa. There is no doubt that he learned much in that interval and that his knowledge considerably increased.

From that time on Ibn Khaldun becomes an outstanding personality in the history of the states of North Africa, actively participating in the evolution of these states and their vicissitudes, at one time taking part in producing the causes of their rise or downfall, at others kindling between them the fire of rivalry, intrigue and war.

Ibn Khaldun was at that time a young man of twenty-two, but his intelligence, force of character, determination, great ambitions and his pride of being the scion of a prominent family, always incited him to seek greater authority, influence and riches. The conditions of the states and courts of North Africa at that time opened the road to prominence before able and determined men. The relations of Ibn Khaldun with Sultan Abu Enan, who was the greatest monarch of North Africa, were the beginning of that great political activity which, for about thirty years, carried him from one state to another and from one place to another, sometimes to fame and sometimes to downfall, sometimes to riches and at others to adversity.

Two years after the appointment of Ibn Khaldun to the court of Fez his ambitious spirit moved him to engage in political intrigues. Although his master and patron, Sultan Abu Enan, continued to honour

and cover him with his favours, as he admits, and although he appointed him to the post of Secretary in spite of his youth, and admitted him as a member of his private council and authorised him to sign for him, he did not hesitate to conspire against him with Emir Abu Abdulla Muhammad, the dethroned ruler of Bougie who was then a captive in Fez. Ibn Khaldun tells us the story of this conspiracy in obscure words, and acknowledges that there was an understanding between him and the captive Emir of Bougie in which he exceeded the limits of reserve. But his excuse is that he was induced to do so by the old friendship between his family and Banu Hafs to which the deposed Emir belonged. Sultan Abu Enan was at that time ill, but when he heard of the conspiracy, that Ibn Khaldun was trying to help the Emir of Bougie to escape and regain his throne and then appoint him chamberlain in case of success, he ordered him to be arrested and put into prison. Although he later released the Emir of Bougie, he kept the historian chained in prison. This adversity, which Ibn Khaldun attributes to the intrigues of his enemies, befell him early in 758 A.H (1337 A.D.).

Ibn Khaldun remained two long years in prison. He often prayed Sultan Abu Enan to release him but the Sultan ignored all supplications; he finally submitted to him an ode of about two hundred verses imploring for mercy, of which the following is a specimen :

How can I remonstrate with time,
And which vicissitudes of fortune can I fight?
I am submitting to the judgment of fate,
Which at one time is favourable and at another antagonistic.

Ibn Khaldun tells us that his ode was favourably received by the Sultan. Abu Enan who was in Tlemcen promised to release him, but the illness from which he suffered was aggravated and he died before fulfilling his promise in the month of Zil-Hijja, 759 A.H. (1358 A D.). Vizier Al-Hassan ibn Omar, the acting regent, ordered the release of Ibn Khaldun and other prisoners and to be restored to his former post and covered him with his favour.

III

When Sultan Abu Enan died, Vizier Al-Hassan ibn Omar opposed the accession of his son and heir Abu Zayan and placed his infant son Al-Saeed on the throne. He assumed absolute power and murdered the other rival ministers. When Abu Enan wrenched the throne from his father, he had arrested his brother Mawla Abu Salem and deported him with his other brothers to Andalusia. On the death of Abu Enan Abu Salem tried to recapture his throne. Not without great difficulty he crossed to Morocco and went to the mountains of Ghomara and declared himself King. The tribes of Ghomara joined and supported him. At the same time there was a new upheaval in Fez. Mansur Ibn Sulaiman a descendant of Yacoub ibn Abd il-Haq, revolted against Vizier Al-Hassan and wrenched the power

from him. The Vizier and his Sultan, Al-Saeed, hid themselves in the city, but were besieged by Al-Mansur. In these events Ibn Khaldun found an opportunity for action and prominence, and behaved in an uncreditable manner. His conduct against Sultan Abu Enan was an evil sign revealing wicked feelings and passions. This act was not, however, due to a temporary mistake; on the contrary, it indicated a tendency rooted in his soul and was the fruit of a conviction. Ibn Khaldun was an opportunist; he seized opportunities using all sorts of means and methods, and to him the end justified the means. He did not hesitate to return evil for good. He plainly explains this tendency and does not try to conceal it. Vizier Ibn Omar released him from prison and covered him with his favours. But no sooner Ibn Khaldun saw the rise of the victorious Mansur than he abandoned the Vizier and sided with his adversary, and occupied the post of secretary to the new King. But his loyalty did not last long, because Sultan Abu Salem arrived in Ghomara and began to proclaim himself King. His envoy, *Al-Faqih* Ibn Marzuk, got in touch secretly with Ibn Khaldun, and handed him a letter from Abu Salem begging him to make propaganda in his favour and to pave the way for his return, promising him with the best recompense. Ibn Khaldun accomplished the mission and aroused the leaders and shaikhs who responded to the appeal of Abu Salem and agreed to support him. The Vizier, Ibn Omar, like-

wise agreed to obey him, having been exhausted by the siege. Ibn Khaldun suddenly left his master, accompanied by a number of leaders, and arrived at the camp of Sultan Abu Salem, and submitted his plan to dethrone Mansur ibn Sulaiman. Here Ibn Khaldun defends his conduct and declares that he abandoned Mansur for his disturbed condition and the inevitable success of the Sultan.[1] Abu Salem went with his forces accompanied by Ibn Khaldun to Fez. On his arrival Mansur ibn Sulaiman took to flight, and Abu Salem sat on the throne of his father (Shaaban, 760 A.H.) and appointed Ibn Khaldun his secretary and made him the repository of his confidence. Ibn Khaldun says that he adopted a new style in correspondence which he freed from rhyme, then usual in writing, and replaced it with an easy flowing style and that his poetic faculty developed in this interval so that he composed many odes varying in excellence. He recited many of his poems to the Sultan on various occasions; one of the best, composed at the time, was a long ode he submitted to the Sultan on the eve of the Prophet's birthday (763 A.H.), enumerating the Prophet's qualities and miracles and eulogising the Sultan. The ode begins:

They cruelly abandoned and tortured me.
And kept me long weeping and lamenting,
On the day of parting they refused to allow
a moment.

1. *Kitab al-Ibar*, Vol vii, p. 305.

To a sad lover to say farewell,
O for days of those parting; they left
My beating heart burning with love.
Their procession disappeared, and my tears
were flowing.

In 762 A.H. when the Sultan received presents from the King of Sudan, among which was a giraffe, Ibn Khaldun submitted to the Sultan another poem eulogising his reign and describing the giraffe in a very artistic style.

It seems that this interval was, for Ibn Khaldun, the stage of rhetoric and poetry. His prose and verse were then noted in literary circles in North Africa and Andalusia. Ibn al-Khatib described his prose and the royal letters he wrote as "channels of rhetoric, gardens of art, precious metals cleverly shaped, the prologues are similar to the epilogues in fertility of imagination and fluency of expression". As for his verse, he says, "He created a new movement in poetry and criticised it according to style; inspiration flowed upon him; he overcame every difficulty and gave us wonders."[1]

It is to be observed that the verse of Ibn Khaldun seems to be tinted with some mysticism, and that, in many of his odes, he adopts the manner of the mystic (Sufi) poets in dealing with spiritual love. It seems that Ibn Khaldun had a strong

1. Ibn al-Khatib in his biography of Ibn Khaldun in *Al-Ihata fi Akhbar-i-Gharnata*, quoted by Al-Makkari in *Nafh al-Tib* (Bulak), Vol. iv, p. 414 and the following.

mystic tendency, and that from what he said in the Prolegomena about mysticism and the abandonment of the soul of all worldly considerations, and aspiring towards the supreme divinity,[1] he sufficiently studied mysticism (Sufism) and its characteristics. In the course of our narrative we quote specimens of Ibn Khaldun's verse as given in his autobiography. A for the letters he wrote for the Sultan he gives us no specimens. He, however, gives us some of his private letters addressed to Ibn al-Khatib which exhibit his power of expression and ability in prose.[2] He exhibits the same ability of expression in his Prolegomena and his History.

Ibn Khaldun was for about two years secretary and chamberlain to Sultan Abu Salem. He was then appointed Chief Justice, in which post he showed great ability. But he began to lose the Sultan's favour, and his influence waned, owing to constant rivalry between him and the high officials. *Al-Faqih* Ibn Marzuk was the Sultan's friend and companion in exile, enjoyed his favour and exercised absolute influence and controlled the affairs of the state, according to his own wishes. This absolute authority annoyed the high officials and chiefs, and disturbed their relations with the Sultan. Ibn Khaldun was one of those whose favour and influence Ibn Marzuk tried to weaken, and he often intrigued against him on account of jealousy and fear of his influence. Ibn Marzuk continued in his

1. *Prolegomena*, pp. 390-427.
2. See *Kitab al-Ibar*, Vol. vii, pp. 327 and 434.

tyranny till a tempest of indignation against him and the Sultan finally raged, and the chiefs and notables agreed to revolt. Their leader was the Vizier Omar ibn Abdulla, the Sultan's brother-in-law, whose father Vizier Abdulla ibn Ali had previously held by his influence and wealth a prominent position in the court of Banu Mareen. When he died in the year 760 A.H., and Sultan Abu Salem ascended the throne, the son aspired after his father's legacy and sought the help of Ibn Marzuk to realise his ambition. The Sultan married him to his sister and appointed him grand chamberlain; thus he became for a time the object of his confidence. But this absolute grasp by Ibn Marzuk of the affairs of the state filled him with hatred and indignation. On the other hand, the Sultan doubted his relations with the Emir of Tlemcen and thought that they were both conspiring against him, so that he intended more than once to crush him. When Ibn Marzuk's tyranny surpassed all bounds, and the idea of revolt as decided upon, Omar ibn Abdulla in agreement with the commander of the troops attacked the royal palace in the absence of the Sultan, captured the new capital (Al-Balad al-Jadid), and declared the dethronement of Abu Salem and the accession of his brother Tashfin in his place. The fires of revolution were kindled everywhere and the royal treasury was looted. Abu Salem tried to attack the insurgents and to recapture his throne, but when he found that his friend had abanboned

him and joined the victorious, he fled with some of his friends. He was chased by Vizier Omar who arrested and ordered him to be executed, and assumed all authority. The revolution happened about the end of 762 A.H. (1361 A.H.).[1]

Now, what was the attitude of Ibn Khaldun in this new upheaval? He was, as usual, always by the side of the victorious, standing under his banner withouthesitation. When Omar ibn Abdulla assumed authority, he confirmed him in his post and increased his pay. But Ibn Khaldun was not satisfied with this result. He was impelled, as he says, "by the fervour of youth to aspire to a higher situation." He had, since the days of Sultan Abu Enan, old friendly relations with the Vizier Omar, and relied on this friendship to obtain the Vizier's favour. He thought that the opportunity had come to arrive at the higher posts of the state, such as that of grand chamberlain or of vizier. But Vizier Omar disappointed him, perhaps rightly, apprehending his ambitious plans. Ibn Khaldun was offended and resigned his post. This conduct annoyed the Vizier who began to treat him coldly.

Ibn Khaldun, fearing the consequences, asked to be allowed to return to Tunis, his home. The Vizier refused fearing that Ibn Khaldun might, on his way, meet his enemy, Abu Hamu, Emir of Tlemcen, which place had been recaptured by Banu Abd al-Wad. Ibn Khaldun appealed to Masud ibn

1. *Kitab al-Ibar*, Vol. vii, pp. 312-14.

Massi, Vizier Omar's colleague and brother-in-law, who helped him and obtained for him permission to depart on condition that he should not go to Tlemcen on his way. Ibn Khaldun then decided to go to Andalusia. It is here that Ibn Khaldun tells us, for the first time, about his wife and children. He says that he sent them to their uncles in Constantine. It is, therefore, evident that Ibn Khaldun was married and had children. He never mentioned before that he was married and we do not know exactly when he was married. We believe, however, that he was married in 754 A.H., that is to say ten years previously, when he was travelling in Middle Barbary on his departure from Tunis in 743 A.H. At that time he lived in Bougie, not far from Constantine. We shall see that henceforth Ibn Khaldun speaks to us of his family and of their movements with him wherever he goes. But he tells us nothing of his children or home life.

CHAPTER III

The Journey to Andalusia

Muhammad ibn al-Ahmar, King of Granada, and his Vizier Ibn al-Khatib. The misfortune of Ibn al-Ahmar and his refuge with his Vizier in the court of Fez. The ode of Ibn al-Khatib to urge the King of Morocco to succour his King Ibn al-Khatib and Ibn Khaldun Ibn al-Ahmar recaptures his throne and restores Ibn al-Khatib to his post Ibn Khaldun's visit to Granada. His cordial relations with Ibn al-Ahmar. He was sent as ambassador to the King of Castille IbnKhaldun's report about his visit to Seville, his grandfather's home The coldness of his relations with Ibn al-Khatib. His departure from Andalusia.

THE King of Granada (Andalusia) was then Muhammad ibn Yusuf ibn Ismail ibn al-Ahmar al-Nasri (the Nasrite). He ascended the throne on the death of his father, Sultan Yusuf Abul Hajjaj, in 755 A.H. (1354 A.D.). As he was young and weak, his chamberlain, Abul Nain Radwan assumed absolute power. Among his ministers was Lisan al-Din Muhammad ibn al-Khatib, the most renowned writer and poet of Andalusia who had occupied the same post in the days of his father. Sultan Abu Enan had arrested his brother, Sultan Abu Salem, and his other brothers and deported them to Andalusia, as already stated. Sultan Muhammad welcomed them, and there were strong ties of friendship between him and Sultan Abu Salem. When Sultan Abu Enan died and Abu Salem recaptured his throne in Shaaban, 760 A.H., the relations between the two Emirs were very friendly. But a few weeks after the accession of Abu Salem a cala-

mity befell his friend, Sultan Muhammad, who lost his throne about the end of Ramadan, 760 A.H. His brother Ismail was supported by a number of leaders foremost among whom was his brother-in-law, who was at the same time one of his cousins, named Al-Rais (Chief) Abu Abdulla. He used to make secret propaganda in favour of Ismail and was awaiting an opportunity to attack Muhammad. He therefore availed himself, one day, of his absence from Granada, seized with a number of followers, the fort of Al-Hamra (Alhambra) killed the chamberlain, Radwan, and proclaimed Ismail, the King's brother, Sultan in his place. Muhammad escaped to Gaudix and his Vizier Ibn al-Khatib was arrested.[1] Abu Salem hearing of the adversity of his friend, and faithful to their old friendship, sent an envoy to Andalusia to induce the government of Granada to allow the deposed Sultan and his Vizier, who was under arrest, to cross to Morocco. The envoy succeeded in his mission and returned to Morocco with

1. Lisan al-Din ibn al-Khatib is Muhammad ibn Abdulla ibn Saeed He was one of the great Andalusian writers and poets of the Eighth Century A H He was born at Loja, near Granada, in 713 A H. (1313 A D.). He made extensive studies and distinguished himself in verse and prose. He also studied medicine and philosophy and entered the service of the Sultan of Granada in his early youth He was secretary and afterwards minister to Sultan Abul Hajjaj and later to his son Muhammad whose misfortunes and exile he shared. When the Sultan recaptured his throne, he was restored to his former posts and for a time alone managed the affairs to the state. When his power waned and his influence weakened, he migrated to Morocco and sought the patronage of its Sultan, but his enemies tried to crush him and he was finally accused of atheism and was arrested, executed and his body burned in 766 A H (1374 A D) He left a great number of works the most important of which are: *Al-Ihata fi Akhbar-i Gharnata Tarikh al-Dawla al-Nasria Ravhanat al-Kuttab, Al-Sihr wal shi'r, Al-Katibat al-Kamina*. He wrote many essays and Makkari devoted for him and his works two large volumes of his book *Nafh al-Ṭib*.

Sultan Muhammad and his Vizier (Moharram, 761).[1] They were warmly welcomed in Fez by Abu Salem, and their arrival was celebrated with great pomp. Ibn al-Khatib then recited a great ode appealing to Abu Salem to succour his Sultan. Here are some of its verses:

Salli, is there any evoking reminiscence
And had the valley turned green and flowery?
My Fatherland, where everything enveloped in happiness.
My life easy and blooming
My Sky, in whose nest grew my wing
Now, I am left without wing and without nest

* * *

We came appealing to you, O the best of Kings!
To render us justice from the evils of time your slave.
Through your succour, we curbed the violence of time.
After displaying its tyranny and arrogance.

* * *

It is you whom we call when peril is imminent.
It is you in whom we hope, when rain ceases

1. See the detailed account of these events in *Tarikh al-Dawla al-Nasria* by Ibn al-Khatib. p. 108 and the following, and *Kitab al-Iber*, Vol. vii p. 306 and the following.

You who protect a refuge and he who,
Invokes the Merenides, against victory and glory.

Ibn Khaldun was among those who attended this ceremony. He tells us that Ibn al-Khatib's ods brought tears to the eyes of the audience; so great was their emotion. He himself says that his hearers were moved to trembling. That was the first occasion on which these two great men, alike in many respects, met. They were both the greatest masters of thought and letters of their age and country. Each of them was an outstanding personality in the events of his age with which he was closely connected, taking part in them, oscillating between triumph and adversity. Each of them was minister, something dictator and sometimes adviser to the princes of his age, working for them or against them. Ibn Khaldun occupied in the states of North Africa the same position as Ibn al-Khatib in Andalusia. He was in North Africa the foremost thinker and writer, as Ibn al-Khatib was in Andalusia. Both were united by ties of friendship and loyalty, but afterwards disunited by jealousy and rivalry Yet each of them had the greatest respect for the other and appreciation of his talents and qualities. Each of them wrote the biography of the other, and spoke of him most highly. In his biography of Ibn al-Khatib, Ibn Khaldun says that he was unsurpassed in verse and prose and filled the state with his odes,

and his fame extended very far. He then speaks of the excellent style of the royal letters he wrote, and admired his administrative talents.[1] Ibn al-Khatib, in his biography of Ibn Khaldun, says that he was a man of great virtue, brilliant qualities, highly respectable, most bashful of ancient glory, very dignified, resolute, revolting against any humiliation, stubborn, courageous, aspiring to the highest posts, favoured by fortune, versed in many branches of science and literature, with versatile qualities, precise in research, of great common-sense, etc.[2] This respect of the two men for each other is further shown by their mutual correspondence.

Sultan Muhammad remained in the court of Fez for some time and Abu Salem did his utmost to honour him. Ibn al-Khatib also went about Morocco for some time and finally settled in Salli. There were cordial relations between Ibn Khaldun, who was then one of the high officials of the state, and the dethroned prince whom he served and whose desires he accomplished. When the Emire went to Andalusia to try to recapture his throne Ibn Khaldun was left in charge of his family, and he did his utmost for their comfort. There were also friendly ties between him and Ibn al-Khatib

1. This biography is given in Ibn Khaldun's report of the events of Andalusia and Morocco, *Kitab al-Ibar*, Vol. vii, p 332 and the following. See the report of Ibn Khaldun on the murder of Ibn al-Khatib, *ibid.*, p. 341.

2 See this biography in *Al-Ihata fi Akhbar-i-Gharnata*, quoted by Al-Makkari in *Nafh al-Tib*, Vol. iv, p 413 and the following.

which grew stronger with time. Sultan Muhammad tried to recapture his throne with assistance of Pedro the Cruel, King of Castile, in execution of an agreement made between them.

But when the King of Castile heard of the murder of Sultan Abu Salem, he delayed the execution of the agreement. Muhammad then appealed to the Vizier, Umar bin Abdulla, then absolute master of Morocco, and sought the intervention of Ibn Khaldun who then enjoyed the Vizier's favour, in the hope of granting him one of the Andalusian towns appertaining to Morocco, to be used as his headquarters. The Sultan granted him Ronda and the surrounding country, and continued his efforts till he succeeded in recapturing his throne from the hands of his enemies. He entered Granada triumphantly in Jumada II, 763 A.H. and firmly assumed the power. He brought his family from Fez, summoned Ibn al-Khatib and restored him to his former post and influence.

The relations between Ibn Khaldun and his friend, the Vizier Omar, were then uncertain, and he decided to go to Andalusia, as already said. As there were strong ties of friendship between him and the Sultan of Granada and his Vizier, and as he had rendered them great services, we can well imagine the motives of his journey and the hopes, he entertained. He went to Ceuta early in the year 764 A.H. when he crossed to Andalusia, and wrote to the Sultan and Ibn al-Khatib announcing his

arrival. On arrival at the valley of Granada he received a polite letter from Ibn al-Khatib welcoming him. He reached Granada on 8th Rabi I. The Sultan welcomed and honoured him, invited him to his private council and preferred his company. Ibn al-Khatib also showed him the utmost honour and patronage. The following year (765 A.H , 1363 A.D.) the Sultan sent him as Ambassador to Pedro the Cruel, King of Castille, with a magnificent present to conclude peace and friendly relations between them. Ibn Khaldun went to Serville, where the King then held his court and was cordially received. Ibn Khaldun here tells us that he saw the vestiges of his ancestors in Seville which, as we have seen, was the home of Banu Khaldun, where for some time their star had shone. The King of Castille knew the history of his family. Ibn Khaldun was presented to him and his prominent position explained by a Jew doctor at his court called Ibrahim ibn Zarur, who had made his acquaintance at the court of Sultan Abu Enan whom he summoned him to treat him. Ibn Khaldun further tells us that the King of Castille proposed that he should remain in his service, and that he would try to induce the chiefs of the state to restore to him the legacy of his family in Seville, but he refused. There was no doubt that Ibn Khaldun was too intelligent to believe that the King of Castille was serious in his proposal. The Khaldun successfully accomplished his mission, and was presented by the King with a

splendid mule with saddle and bridle adorned with gold, which he presented to the Sultan. On his return the Sultan gave him the village of Elvira in the Vega of Granada, thus increasing his income. He asked the Sultan's permission to bring his family from Constantine, and the Sultan issued the necessary permit. He lived in prosperity and tranquillity with his family, but soon after he began to feel that the Sultan treated him coldly, and that this was evidently due to the intrigues of Ibn al-Khatib, who adopted the same attitude; the Vizier fearing, no doubt, his rivalry and machinations. Ibn Khaldun realised that he could no longer remain in Granada. At the same time he received a letter from his friend Abu Abdulla Muhammad, Emir of Bougie informing him that he had recaptured his throne and would be pleased to receive him. Ibn Khaldun then decided to leave Andalusia and asked the Sultan's permission. The Sultan granted his request, made him many gifts and bade him a cordial farewell. Ibn Khaldun left Granada and sailed from Almeria to Bougie in the middle of the year 766 A.H. (1364 A.D.).

CHAPTER IV

The Zenith of Adventure.

Abu Abdulla Muhammad, Emir of Bougie. His recapturing of the throne and his recall of Ibn Khaldun. Ibn Khaldun becomes absolute Hajib in Bougie. The capture of Bougie by Abul Abbas Emir of Constantine, and the murder of Emir Muhammad Ibn Khaldun sides with the victorious. His disagreement with Abul Abbas and flight to Biskra The moral of this event Abu Hamu, Sultan of Tlemcen, summons Ibn Khaldun He declines but tries to support him. Sultan Abd al-Aziz, the Merinite, conquers Tlemcen Ibn Khaldun meets him and works for the advance of his interests. Ibn al-Khatib arrives in Morocco. Ibn Khaldun leaves for Fez Development of events in Morocco and the rise of Sultan Abul Abbas Ahmad Intrigues against Ibn Khaldun. Ibn Khaldun leaves for Andalusia. Application to extradite him. Murder of Ibn al-Khatib.

THE Emir of Bougie did not forget his friend in adversity after the victory. He did not forget that this friend suffered captivity and imprisonment for his sake. He therefore summoned him to collaborate with him and thus to fulfil the promise he had made. Bougie was previously among the possessions of the Kingdom of Tunis (Ifrikia) under the Hafsite dynasty. When Emir Abu Yahya al-Lihyani conquered Tunis in the year 711 A H , he ceded the ports to his sons, one of whom, Emir Abu Zakariya, was the ruler of Bougie and who continued to govern it till he died in the year 746 A.H. He was succeeded by his eldest son Emir Abu Abdulla Muhammad. When Sultan Abul Hassan marched on Tunis, Emir Muhammad was dethroned, as the other Emirs were, and deported to Morocco. When Sultan Abu Enan rose against his father

during his absence in Tunis, he restored the dethroned Emirs to their ports, including Emir Muhammad, in order to oppose his father on his return. Muhammad continued for some time to govern Bougie, and on the death of Sultan Abul Hassan, Abu Enan was firmly established on the throne, and again captured Bougie from its ruler, forced him to cede it and deported him to Morocco. He remained there till Ibn Khaldun entered the service of Sultan Abu Enan. The relations of Ibn Khaldun with the dethroned Emir became stronger owing to the old friendship between the two families. Ibn Khaldun was accused of conspiring with his friend and of facilitating for him the means of flight to recapture his throne and to appoint him Hajib (Minister). He was imprisoned for two years till the death of Sultan Abu Enan. On the accession of Sultan Abu Salem, Ibn Khaldun tried to obtain the release of Emir Muhammad and the other deported Emirs and the restoration to their ports. Emir Muhammad gave him a written promise to make him Hajib when he recaptures his throne. The Emir marched on Bougie and managed to wrench it from the hands of his enemies in 765 A.H. and appointed Yahya, the youngest brother of Ibn Khaldun, Vizier and summoned Ibn Khaldun from Andalusia to assume the post of Hajib in fulfilment of his promise. Ibn Khaldun responded, having decided to leave Andalusia. He reached Bougie in the middle of the year 766 A.H. and was accorded a grand reception by

the Emir of Bougie and its inhabitants. Ibn Khaldun describes the day of his arrival in these high-sounding words: "The Sultan gave me a grand reception, organised a procession to meet me; the inhabitants of the city hastened from all parts, touching my clothes and kissing my hand. It was a grand day."

Ibn Khaldun at once took up his duties as Hajib to the Sultan of Bougie. At that time the post of Hajib, in the North African states, according to his definition, was "management of all the affairs of the state, and the exclusive organisation of the relations between the Sultan and his subjects". He assumed absolute power and managed all affairs vigorously, calming dissension skilfully and wisely, and going about among the mountain tribes collecting taxes by the force of his sagacity and influence. Soon after a conflict arose between the Emir of Bougie and his cousin Sultan Abul Abbas, ruler of Constantine. Abul Abbas aspired after the conquest of Bougie and roused the neighbouring tribes against the Emir. Ibn Khaldun also tells us that the Emir did not treat the inhabitants of Bougie properly but oppressed them and they therefore decided to renounce their allegiance to him being incited by Abul Abbas. In the year 767 A H. Abul Abbas marched with his forces to Bougie and fought Emir Muhammad in its suburbs, defeated and killed him, and entered Bougie triumphantly. In the meantime Ibn Khaldun remained in the palace of Bougie.

When Muhammad was defeated some of the chiefs proposed to Ibn Khaldun to assume authority and proclaim one of the Sultan's sons Emir. He refused and as usual went to greet the victorious and to stand by him. Ibn Khaldun handed the city over to Abul Abbas who honoured him and retained him for some time in his post. But soon after Ibn Khaldun felt that he no longer enjoyed the favour of the Emir and therefore retired to one of the neighbouring districts. Later on Abul Abbas decided to arrest him; he therefore fled to Biskra, but Abul Abbas arrested his younger brother Yahya, kept him prisoner in Bona, searched their houses and confiscated their property.

Thus ended this ambitious adventure of Ibn Khaldun. Like his previous adventures it proved his exaggerated egoism, his ingratitude and his disposition to avail himself of favourable opportunities however much they were contrary to loyalty and gratitude. In all his plans and actions Ibn Khaldun exhibited deep despise of sentiment and moral principles; he was moved by that strong spirit which Machiavelli later admired and imagined in his ideal prince—that audacious, stubborn spirit which overcomes every human weakness and leads directly to the coveted end by all means. Ibn Khaldun tries to express his regret at the manner the events developed. He tells us elsewhere, in speaking of the unfortunate Emir of Bougie: "When this Emir, Abu Abdulla, summoned me I hastened

to obey him. If God had willed, it would not have been done. If I had known the future I would have tried to arrive at much better results."[1]

But there is no doubt that Ibn Khaldun, during the events of Bougie, was carrying on an adventure of his own and was striving to gather the fruits of an occasion he sought and prepared long before. There is no doubt, also, that the death of his ally and master did not harm or grieve him; he had hoped to stand by the victorious, had the latter not dispensed with his services.

Ibn Khaldun then went to Biskra having friendly relations with its Emir. There he remained watching the events. Emir Abu Hamu Musa ibn Abd al-Rahman, Sultan of Tlemcen, was the brother-in-law of the deceased Emir of Bougie and aspired to conquer that city. When he heard of the death of his brother-in-law he sent his forces to Bougie in order to capture it, but they were terribly defeated. Abu Hamu then wrote to Ibn Khaldun summoning him from Biskra for appointment as his Hajib, being aware of his influence in Bougie and the surrounding tribes. In fact, he sent him the edict of his appointment, and wrote to him asking that he should try to induce the tribes to side with him. On this occasion Ibn Khaldun declined the offer and instead sent his brother Yahya, who had been released from prison. But he responded to the request to induce the tribes and divert them from the side of Abul

1. *Kitab al-Ibra* Vol. vi, p. 377.

Abbas to that of his enemy Abu Hamu. Ibn Khaldun tells us that he was tried of the dangers of adventure and of the terrors of the post, and no more sought after honours; he longed to study which he had abandoned for many years. He decided to resume study and to abandon the field of politics and government service. We shall, however, see that he returned to the theatre of events and participated in other political adventures.

Ibn Khaldun now received letters from his friend Ibn al-Khatib expressing his desire to see him, assuring him of his affection, and giving him news of Andalusia and speaking of his literary activities and new books. He replied expressing the same sentiments, speaking of his misfortune in Bougie, and giving him news of North Africa and Egypt which had reached him.[1] These letters show the appreciation and respect they had for each other.

Ibn Khaldun continued his stay in Biskra on the one hand summoning the tribes to support the cause of Abu Hamu and to side with him against Abul Abbas, and on the other trying to strengthen the bonds of alliance between Abu Hamu and Abu Ishaq, Sultan of Tunis. The relations between the latter and his brother, Abul Abbas, were not cordial. The difficulties of Abu Hamu increased by the rebellion of his cousin Abu Zayan. Ibn Khaldun worked harder to gather the tribes to his banner.

1. See the correspondence in *Kitab al-Ibar*, Vol. vii, pp. 421-30:

He then went with the ruler of Biskra, and the other chiefs whom he had won over, and their forces to succour Abu Hamu who was getting ready to fight his enemies (771 A.H.). But he was again defeated and Ibn Khaldun had to retire to Biskra to resume his activities to raise the tribes to his succour, and to strengthen the relations between him and the Sultan of Tunis.

In the following year Ibn Khaldun went with a number of chiefs to visit Abu Hamu and confer with him on the plan to be adopted. He met him in Algiers and remained with him for some time, and recited to him a charming ode of congratulation on the occasion of the Bairam feast.

But the loyalty of Ibn Khaldun to the Emir of Tlemcen did not last long. Soon after he turned back on him and sided with his enemy, inciting the tribes against him after having induced them to support him. The Sultan of Morocco, Abd al-Aziz ibn al-Hassan, marched at that time with his forces to invade Tlemcen and again wrench it from the grasp of Banu Abd al-Wad The Vizier Omar ibn Abdulla had assumed absolute power in Morocco since the murder of Sultan Abu Salem in 762 A.H., as already stated, and put on the throne puppet kings and young men of Banu Mareen (Merinites). In the year 768 A.H. he put on the throne Sultan Abd al-Aziz, son of Sultan Abul Hassan who was his captive and as usual deprived him of all authority. The Sultan was indignant ; he revolted against the Vizier

Omar and secretly had him murdered and crushed his relatives, and regained complete authority. He then marched with his forces to Middle Barbary, aiming at the conquest of Tlemcen and the destruction of the authority of Banu Abd al-Wad. Ibn Khaldun was then the guest of Abu Hamu When he heard of the approach of the King of Morocco and saw that the road to Biskra was closed before him and insurrection was spreading everywhere, he apprehended the consequences and asked Abu Hamu to allow him to go to Andalusia. The Sultan granted his request, and gave him a letter to the King of Granada. Ibn Khaldun hastened to the port of Hanin to sail, but the King of Morocco had then arrived with his army in Tlemcen and Abu Hamu had to go to the desert to assemble his forces. The King of Morocco hearing that Ibn Khaldun was in Hanin carrying treasures of Abu Hamu, sent a detachment of troops to arrest him. He was surprised at the port and when searched nothing was found on him. He was, therefore, taken to the Sultan who was camping near Tlemcen. The Sultan made an inquiry about him, rebuked him for abandoning the Merinites and taking side with their enemies. Ibn Khaldun gave as excuse his misunderstanding with the Vizier Omar and some chiefs interceded in his favour and spoke of his previous services to Banu Marcen. Moreover Ibn Khaldun promised the Sultan to help him to restore Bougie when he would express the desire to conquer it. The Sultan was pleased and after a night of captivity ordered his release. He

retired to a place in the desert known by the name of Ribat Abu Madyan[1] and remained there for a time busying himself in his solitude with reading and study.

When Sultan Abd al-Aziz recaptured Tlemcen (772 A.H.) he summoned Ibn Khaldun and charged him with the task of attracting the tribes to side with him against his enemy Abu Hamu IbnKhaldun accepted the mission and began to gather the tribes and induce them to fight his former friend. He took part in the expedition sent by the Sultan to chase Abu Hamu, and endeavoured, by his sagacity and influence, among the chiefs and shaikhs, to sever the tribes from Abu Hamu. The King's forces continued to pursue Abu Hamu till they surprised him in the depth of the desert and destroyed his camp. Abu Hamu and his family fled under the cover of night. Ibn Khaldun after remaining some days with his family in Biskra went to Sultan Abd al-Aziz in Tlemcen and was received cordially. The Sultan then sent him to try to calm some of the rebel tribes in Middle Barbary and restore them to his allegiance. He obeyed, but he was not successful on this occasion. He returned to Biskra and contented himself with reporting to the Sultan. Just then he learned of the arrival of his friend Ibn al-Khatib at the Sultan's court in Tlemcen, having fled from Andalusia to escape the vengeance of the Sultan of Granada with whom his relations had been

1. The "Ribat" is a place of retirement devoted to worship.

disturbed. Sultan Abu al-Aziz received him with honour and covered him with his favours. Ibn al-Khatib wrote to his friend in Biskra giving him his news and reproaching him for his conduct, when he was in Andalusia. Ibn Khaldun replied by a touching letter assuring him of his appreciation and affection, and defending himself against the charge of infidelity, and congratulating him on his escape.[1]

Ibn Khaldun continued to reside in Biskra while insurrection was raging in all parts of Middle Barbary. When the Sultan organised an expedition, commanded by his Vizier Abu Bakr ibn Ghazi, to fight the insurgents, he charged Ibn Khaldun, once more, with the duty to quieten the tribes. Ibn Khaldun accomplished this mission, and went to meet the Vizier in the desert with the chiefs of the loyal tribes. He then returned to Biskra, but did not remain there long, having found that its Emir was inclined to insurrection. He, therefore, left with his family to join the Sultan at Tlemcen but on his way he heard of the Sultan's death and the accession of his son Al-Saeed under the regency of Vizier Ibn Ghazi and the return of the whole court to Fez (774 A H.) He now decided to proceed to Fez crossing the desert with some of the Sultan's suite and troops. The caravan met, on its way, a band of brigands incited by Abu Hamu who had recaptured Tlemcen on the death of the Sultan and robbed the passenger's baggage. Ibn Khaldun and his family

1. *Kitab al-Ibar*, Vol. vii, pp. 434-436.

narrowly escaped captivity, and finally reached Fez in a miserable condition. He was cordially received by the Vizier, Ibn Ghazi, who assured him of his patronage. He remained in Fez and became the object of reverence.

At that time the relations between the courts of Fez and Granada were strained. As the Vizier Ibn al-Khatib had taken refuge at the court of Banu Mareen the Sultan of Andalusia, Muhammad ibn al-Ahmar asked the court of Fez to expel him. The Vizier Ibn Ghazi refused and sent some of the refugees of Banu al-Ahmar to rouse opposition against the government of Andalusia; on the other hand Ibn al-Ahmar sent two of the chiefs of Morocco who were in Andalusia, Abd al-Rahman ibn Yaflus, a Merinite Emir, and the Vizier Masud ibn Massi, to foment agitation against the government of Fez. He sent them with his fleet to the coast of Morocco and besieged Gibraltar which was then in the possession of the Merinites. Vizier Ibn Ghazi sent an army commanded by his cousin Muhammad ibn Osman to fight the insurgents. Ibn al-Ahmar induced him to support his cause and incited him to secede. He raised the standard of revolt and declared Emir Ahmad, son of Sultan Abu Salem, who was then in captivity in Tangiers, king and marched to fight Ibn Ghazi. There were fierce battles between the two sides near Meknes, and Ibn Ghazi retired to Fez and fortified it. The insurgents besieged him till he submitted, and dethroned King Al-Saeed Sultan

Abul Abbas Ahmad captured Fez (779 A.H.) and appointed Ibn Osman Hajib. Emir Abd al-Rahman took possession of North Morocco in execution of the agreement concluded.

During these events Ibn Khaldun was living in Fez. When this change in government took place an intrigue was made against him and he was arrested, but was released on the intervention of his friend Emir Abd al-Rahman, Sultan of North. He then decided to migrate to Andalusia, all the courts of North Africa being closed on him. Ibn Khaldun says that he wished to go to Andalusia to settle down and to study. It appears that he had then decided to devote his time to research and writing, the idea having often recurred to him since the political affairs were disturbed and the horizon of North Africa was clouded. He crossed the sea to Andalusia in the spring of 7,6 H.A. leaving his family in Fez. On his way he met Abu Abdulla ibn Zumruk, Vizier of Ibn al-Ahmar, who was going to the court of Fez to congratulate and negotiate with the new Sultan. He asked him to try to obtain the release of his family so that they could join him. But Ibn Khaldun did not take into account the intrigues of his enemies: that he would become the object of bargaining in disgraceful negotiations. In fact the court of Fez apprehended his settlement in Andalusia and refused to allow his family to join him when it was told that Ibn Khaldun was in touch with Emir Abd al-Rahman and that he incited him to

invade Morocco. On the other hand Ibn Zamruk went to Fez to try to put in force a disgraceful promise made by the new Sultan of Morocco to Ibn al-Ahmar, as one of the terms of alliance between them. Their promise was to bring about the downfall and murder of the Vizier Ibn al-Khatib, Ibn al-Ahmar believing that his former Vizier used to incite Sultan Abd al-Aziz to fight him. Thus the court of Fez found a favourable opportunity to persecute Ibn Khaldun and to crush him. They asked Ibn al-Ahmar to hand him over to them, on the plea that he was trying to save Ibn al-Khatib. Ibn al-Ahmar refused, but agreed to send back Ibn Khaldun to Africa. The fact is that Ibn Khaldun tried to save his friend. When the revolution broke out, Ibn al-Khatib had taken refuge in Al-Balad al-Jadid, a suburb of Fez, with Vizier Ibn Ghazi. When the new Sultan captured Fez he imprisoned him when Ibn Zamruk arrived and tried to induce the Sultan to kill him. Thus the great thinker, writer and politician, was the victim of disgraceful bargaining and of fanaticism and ignorance, having been accused of atheism in some of his essays He was tortured, and some ignominious *faqihs* gave *fatwah* (legal decision) that he should be executed. He was strangled in his prison and his body burned (776 A.H., 1374 A.D.).[1] Ibn Khaldun quotes the following touching verses from a poem Ibn al-Khatib used to recite while in prison making his own elegy ;

We are far, although houses are near ;
We preach although we are silent.

1. *Kitab al-Ibar*, Vol. vii, pp. 341-42.

Our breathing ceased suddenly ;
Like loud prayers followed by murmur.
We were suns in the horizon of greatness ;
They set ;—they were lamented by all.
Tell our enemies that Ibn al-Khatib is gone ;
And passed away ;—and who will not pass ?
Those among you who rejoice ;
Tell them rejoice today he who will not die.

CHAPTER V

Retirement and Literary Work

Ibn Khaldun returns to North Africa and resumes his relations with Abu Hamu His refuge in the district of Banu Arif. He begins to write his historical work Achievement of the Prolegomena and the history of the Arabs and the Berbers He tries to return to Tunis Sultan Abul Abbas grants his request. He completes his work and presents it to the Sultan The ode he composed on the day of presentation. The intrigues around him He accompanies the Sultan on military expeditions. His decision to go to the East. He abandons political life.

THUS fate almost brought these two friends together for the last time in similar conditions, and almost inflicted them with a common calamity. But Ibn Khaldun was more fortunate than his friend, the Sultan of Granada contenting himself merely with expelling him from his territory and sending him back to Africa. He disembarked at the port of Hanin, bewildered and afraid, not knowing where to go. His brother Yahya had returned to the service of Abu Hamu, Emir of Tlemcen. Abu Hamu was very much annoyed with Ibn Khaldun for the unfriendly attitude he often adopted, and left him wandering in Hanin. Muhammad ibn Arif, a chief of the Banu Arif and a friend of Ibn Khaldun, interceded in his favour and finally Abu Hamu pardoned him and allowed him to come to Tlemcen where he arrived on the day of the Bairam feast in the year 776 A.H. (1374 A D.). He now wished to devote his time to study. But Abu Hamu again charged him with the task of inducing

the tribes to support him. Ibn Khaldun was obliged and feigned to accept, but it appears that he was definitely disgusted with political adventures. No sooner he left Tlemcen than he turned his face to another direction and went to the district of Banu Arif where he was joined by his family from Tlemcen; and his friends interceded on his behalf with Sultan Abu Hamu. Banu Arif welcomed him and gave him and his family one of their palaces in the Salama Fort, situated near Tujin.[1]

Ibn Khaldun spent four years in that distant, lonely place, and for the first time enjoyed rest and tranquillity, far from the troubles of politics and court intrigues, as well as the dangers of travel and military expeditions. For the first time he got leisure here and an opportunity for research and study.

In that calm interval Ibn Khaldun began to write his historical work. He was now forty-five years old; his researches and studies having become mature. He had spent a quarter of a century in political strife, successively serving North African courts and states, studying their affairs and institutions, learning their views, and crossing the hills and deserts of Barbary, mixing himself with the Berber tribes and studying their characteristics, conditions and traditions in public and private life. His fertile mind, not to speak of these

1. This district is situated to the south of Constantine, around the city of Tawghurt, about a hundred miles to the west of the frontier of Tunis.

practical studies, overflowed with the fruit of wide knowledge which he did his best to obtain whenever opportunity allowed in the libraries of North Africa and Andalusia. It was a blessed, successful retirement. In that distant, solitary place Ibn Khaldun wrote the Prolegomena of his history, and was inspired with those studies and everlasting theories which occupy a high place among the fruits of human thought, and bequeathed to the legacy of the Arabic language that immortal monument of which it is proud. He concluded his admirable Prolegomena in the middle of the year 779 A.H. (1377 A.D), in only five months.[1] He then revised and polished it. He tells us in a tone of astonishment and admiration of his success: "I achieved the Prolegomena in this wonderful manner, inspired to me in my solitude, ideas and expressions flowing on my mind till they formed a mature and systematic matter."[2] Having completed the Prolegomena he began to write his history. He wrote the history of the Arabs, the Berbers and the tribe of Zanata; in other words he wrote its first and the last sections in the form presented to us. It was not his intention to write a general history of Mankind, but his fundamental object was to write the history of North Africa and the Berber states. Thus he says in the Prolegomena: "In my book I have given, as far as possible, the history of Barbary either in a special or in a general manner, intending to devote this work to the

1. The Prolegomena, p. 534. 2. *Kitab al-Ibar*, Vol. vii, p. 444.

generations, nations and kingdoms of Barbary, omitting the history of other countries owing to my limited knowledge of the conditions of the East and its nations, and because current histories are not comprehensive enough in the desired manner."[1]

Nevertheless he modified his programme and again decided to write a general history of Mankind. But as, in his isolated abode, he lacked important books of reference, he decided to return to Tunis, his home, where the rich libraries would afford him an opportunity for research. This was in the middle of the year 780 A.H. (1378 A.D.) after he had completed the Prolegomena and the chapters on the history of the Arabs and the Berbers.

At that time Sultan Abul Abbas, whom we know as Emir of Constantine and who had then wrenched Bougie from his cousin, Emir Muhammad, and appointed Ibn Khaldun his Hajib. He was then displeased with Ibn Khaldun, and tried to arrest him but he fled to Biskra; the Sultan then arrested his brother Yahya in Bona and confiscated their property. For some time Abul Abbas watched for an opportunity to seize Tunis; its minister, Ibn Tafrakin, who, for some time, was its sole dictator, having been deprived of authority by Sultan Abu Ishaq, went to Abul Abbas and tried to help him to realise his project. In 771 A.H. Abul Abbas marched on Tunis with a large force and wrenched it from the hands of its infant Sultan, the son of

1. The Prolegomena, p. 27.

Abu Ishaq. He then successively captured all the ports of Tunisia. The Hafsite Kingdom again arose strong and firmly established. The relations between Sultan Abul Abbas and Ibn Khaldun were disturbed since the events of Bougie, that is to say, more than ten years before. When the historian decided to return to Tunis, his birthplace and the abode of his family, moved by love of home and the desire to study, he wrote to Sultan Abul Abbas praying for pardon and permission to return. The Sultan granted him pardon. He, therefore, left Banu Arif in Rajab, 780 A H., crossed the desert and, on his way, passed by Constantine where he stayed as the guest of Emir Ibrahim, son of Sultan Abul Abbas. He then went to see Sultan Abul Abbas who was then at the head of his army trying to quell the revolution in some parts of the country. He met him in the outskirts of Susa. The Sultan received him cordially, honoured him and consulted him on his affairs. He then sent him to Tunis and gave orders that no comfort should be spared him as regards abode and living. Ibn Khaldun arrived in Tunis, his birthplace, for the first time since he left it as a youth under twenty in the year 753 A.H. He sent for his family from Banu Arif and lived quietly in security and prosperity devoting himself to study and research, till the Sultan returned from his military expeditions a few months later. The Sultan covered him with favours, made him one of his companions and urged him to complete his work. Ibn Khaldun now felt

that the old intrigues were being resumed against him, on account of the Sultan's patronage. The leader of these intrigues was his old adversary, *Al-Faiqh* ibn Arafa, the Grand Mufti. Ibn Khaldun explains the cause of this hostility in his superiority over Ibn Arafa in literary councils, so that the students of Ibn Arafa preferred to attend his lecturers, and his activities with the officials of the court, hence his spite against Ibn Khaldun to undermine his position. For some time these intrigues had no effect, so firm was his position and prestige.

When the historian gathered material for research he began to complete his work, and to revise and enlarge it. When the first copy was ready he submitted it to Sultan Abul Abbas, his patron, early in 784 A.H. (1382 A.D.) This copy comprised the Prolegomena, the history of the Berbers and Zanata, the history of the Arabs before and after Islam, and the history of the various Muslim dynasties.[1] Ibn Khaldun related the history of the Berber states of his own time till the recapture of Tawzir by Sultan Abul Abbas in 783 A.H.[2] But this first copy was later enlarged by the addition of other long sections on the history of Muslim dynasties in the East, the history of the ancient nations and the Christian nations, as will be explained elsewhere.

On the day Ibn Khaldun submitted the first copy of his book to Sultan Abul Abbas, he recited

1. *Kitab al-Ibar*, Vol. vii. pp. 345-46. 2. *Ibid.*, Vol. vi, p. 396.

to him a long ode of about one hundred verses, speaking of his qualities and deeds, invoking his favour and patronage, and pointing to the importance of his work. This ode, which is one of his most important poems, begins thus:

> Is there but your home a refuge for a stranger?
> Is there but your patronage an object of aspiration?

Speaking of his work he says:

> Here in the histories of time and peoples
> Are lessons the morals of which are followed by the just.
> I summarised all the books of the ancients
> And recorded what they omitted.
> I smoothed the methods of expression
> As if they submitted to my will.
> I dedicate it, a glory, to your realm,
> Which shines, and is the object of pride.
> I swear that I did not exaggerate
> A bit; exaggeration is hateful to me.

This tranquillity enjoyed by Ibn Khaldun, for a time, was, however, soon disturbed. Ibn Arafa and his friends, the historian's enemies, continued their intrigues. Their attempts were of no avail in depriving the historian of the King's favour; it, however, led to annoying him in another manner. When the Sultan was on the point of marching, with his army, to fight the insurgents in Tawzir and the surrounding districts in the year 783 A.H., he

ordered Ibn Khaldun to accompany him. He obeyed but reluctantly. In fact he was disgusted with the turmoil of politics and was weary of these dangerous royal missions. When the expedition accomplished its purpose the Sultan granted his request to return before him. He went to his farm in the neighbourhood of Tunis where he remained till the victorious return of the Sultan and accompanied him to Tunis. A few months later, the Sultan prepared again to march with his army. Ibn Khaldun, fearing that he might be ordered again to accompany the Sultan in his expeditions, and that he would no longer enjoy any tranquillity, decided to leave Tunis and thought of proceeding for the holy pilgrimage, as an excuse. He begged the Sultan to relieve him of his duties and to allow him to accomplish his pious wish. His request was granted and Ibn Khaldun again left his birthplace. This time it was to return no more. He went to the port in a touching procession of notables, friends and students who bade him farewell in demonstrations of deep regret. He sailed to the East in the middle of Shaaban, 784 A.H. (October, 1382 A.D.).

Thus Ibn Khaldun concluded an eventful and most adventurous life in North Africa. This, undoubtedly, was not a brilliant epilogue, nor did it satisfy his lofty soul. There is no doubt than Ibn Khaldun was the greatest politician and thinker Africa and Andalusia knew in the eighth century A.H. Those brilliant qualities and talents which

raised him to the summit of events and made of him an outstanding personality in the history of North Africa and its political evolution for a quarter of a century, and which helped him to arrive at leadership and great influence among those desert tribes, always noted for stubbornness and rough disposition, were apt to elevate him to a high, stable position in the states and courts of that age. Ibn Khaldun spent a quarter of a century in political strife and court intrigues. He served all the Berber states, often enjoyed the advantages of leadership and authority and often suffered the adversities of disfavour and the bitterness of imprisonment and the dangers of death. After so much trouble and effort he finds himself where he began; he loses the favour of all courts and state he served and to some of which he rendered great services, and finds himself in this last refuge to which he resorted and where he enjoyed some tranquillity. For some time he felt the bitterness of disappointment and sought consolation in research and literary work, his soul burning with the passion for struggle and adventure; he became disgusted with politics and was reluctant to resume those royal missions the accomplishment of which paved his way to influence and authority. He sought leisure and a quiet life after long wanderings and hoped to end his days in his own country and be buried by the side of his fathers. But he did not attain even that modest aspiration and was disturbed by the machinations of his enemies in his quiet

abode, and finally faced the consequences of spite and intrigues. He did not find in Tunis the tranquillity he sought, and was obliged to invoke pilgrimage as a pretext for departure and safety, to bid his relatives and family good-bye and leave his fatherland, alone, not knowing what the fate had in store for him.

PART II

Ibn Khaldun in Egypt
784-808 A.H., 1382-1406 A.D.

CHAPTER VI

The Lecturer and the Judge

Ibn Khaldun arrives in Egypt. His description of Cairo. He lectures in Al-Azhar. Introduction to the court His appointment as Professor in the Kambiah School. His first lecture. His appointment as Maliki judge. Disturbed atmosphere around him His comments on the conditions of justice He is criticised by Egyptian writers. Loss of his family. He is relieved of the post of Judge, but remains a lecturer His voyage to the Holy Land. He is appointed Professor in the Sarghatmash School. He is appointed Shaikh to the Beibars Sufi Institute The revolt of Yalbugha al-Nasiri and the dethronement of Sultan Barquq The fall of Yalbugha and the restoration of Barquq Reflections of Ibn Khaldun on the Egyptian state. He devotes himself to study and research. His efforts to organise relations between the Egyptian court and the courts of North Africa.

I

IBN KHALDUN left Tunis in the middle of Shaaban, 784 A.H. October, 1382 A.D.) and arrived at the port of Alexandria on Bairam after a difficult sea voyage. He tells us that he arrived in Egypt to join the pilgrims' caravan, and that he spent a month in Alexandria making preparations. As he could not then realise his desire, he went to Cairo.[1] But the performance of his religious duty was merely a pretext to leave Tunis. His arrival in Egypt was, as we have seen, a sort of flight dictated by fear of misfortune. No doubt he hoped to spend his life in Egypt in tranquillity and ease, and to enjoy that settled life which his struggle and adventure in North Africa did not afford him. He

1. *Kitab al-Ibar*, Vol, vii, p. 452.

was then fifty-two years old, but was full of activity and vigour, always aspiring after posts of influence and honour. Cairo was, at that time, the centre of Muslim learning of the East and the West, and its court was widely reputed for the patronage of science and literature. He thus hoped to enjoy this patronage. Ibn Khaldun arrived in Cairo on the first of the month of Zul-Qaada, 784 A.H. (November, 1382 A.D.) and was dazzled by its extent, grandeur and beauty, as it dazzled, half a century before, his predecessor and countryman, the traveller, Ibn Batuta, and as it dazzled, in the course of ages, all the eminent men of the East and the West who visited it. This was natural, for the historian saw in North Africa only humble desert towns and did not see in Andalusia, where he spent some time, a town equal to Cairo in grandeur and splendour. On arriving in Cairo he greets the city with an enthusiasm with reveals deep admiration, charm and emotion, and describes it in these resounding words: "I have seen the capital of the world, the garden of the universe, the theatre of nations, the meeting-place of myriads, of mankind, the seat of Islam, the capital of the Kingdom; palaces and castles loom in its horizon, institutes and schools shine in its sky, its scholars (*ulama*) shining like moons and stars ..; the streets of the city are too crowded with people, and its markets overflow with riches."

Ibn Khaldun was not a stranger in Egypt, for the society of Cairo knew much about him. The

reputation of his voluminous work, and particularly his famous Prolegomena had preceded him, and some time before the first copies were known in Egypt and in other countries of the East, the intellectual and literary circles had begun to admire the originality of the Prolegomena, its new style and brilliance of its contents. Therefore, no sooner he arrived in Cairo than scholars and students flocked from all parts to see him. Ibn Khaldun tells us with both pride and modesty: "Students hurried to me seeking knowledge, notwithstanding my little acquirements, and would accept no excuse."[1] This is alluded to by his Egyptian biographers too; thus Abul Mahasin ibn Taghri Birdi says of Ibn Khaldun: "He settled in Cairo, and, for some time, lectured in Al-Azhar Mosque, studied and taught others."[2] Al-Sakhawi says: "The inhabitants of Cairo welcomed and honoured him, frequented his circle; in fact he lectured for some time in the Mosque of Al-Azhar."[3] Ibn Khaldun lectured in Al-Azhar, and it seems to us that he lectured on Hadith and Maliki jurisprudence, and explained his theories on society, vitality (*Al-Asabiyah*), the foundations of sovereignty, the rise of states and other subjects dealt with in his Prolegomena. These lectures were the best proof of his deep knowledge, his vast research and charming exposition. Ibn Khaldun

1. *Kitab al-Ibar*, Vol. vii, p. 452.
2. *Kitab al-Manhal al-Safi* (manuscript in the Egyptian Library), Vol. ii, p. 300.
3. *Kitab al-Dawu al Lami* (photographic manuscript in the Egyptian Library), Vol. ii, Section ii, p. 367.

was a brilliant causeur and lecturer, astounding his hearers with his logic and fluency. This is told us by a number of famous Egyptian scholars and writers who attended his lectures, among whom was the great historian Taki al-Din al-Makrizi who attended his lectures as a young man. Likewise Al-Hafiz ibn Hajar who also attended his lectures and profited by his erudition, describes him in these words: "He was very eloquent, an excellent essayist, and exhibited deep knowledge of the subjects, particularly those relating to the state."[1] Al-Sakhawi, quoting Al-Bishbishi and Al-Rikraki, tells us that he was very fluent, handsome, and that he was an ideal lecturer."

Thus Ibn Khaldun was able, as soon as he arrived, to win the sympathy of the society of Cairo, and to rouse its admiration and appreciation. But this good atmosphere around him did not last long. In the meantime Ibn Khaldun made the acquaintance of an Emir of the court, named Ala al-Din al-Tinbugha al-Jawani who extended his patronage and helped him to be presented to the Sultan. Al-Zahir Barquq was then the Sultan of Egypt who ascended the throne a few days before the arrival of Ibn Khaldun (about the end of Ramadan, 784 A.H.). He welcomed the historian and took interest in him. Ibn Khaldun says: "He looked after my comfort, made me feel not as a stranger and granted

1. *Kitab Inba al-Ghumr fi Anba al-Umr* (manuscript in the Egyptian Library), Vol i, p. 711.
2. *Kitab al-Dawu al-Lami*, Vol. ii, Section ii p. 369.

me a liberal salary as he usually did for the *ulama*." Thus was realised the historian's desire to settle down and lead a quiet life under the patronage of a prince who would protect him and ensure his livelihood. Soon after the Sultan appointed him Professor in the Kamhiah School, close to the Mosque of Amr, a Maliki institution. Ibn Khaldun does not omit to tell us about his first lecture in this school, which was attended by a large number of distinguished men sent by the Sultan, who surrounded the historian. Ibn Khaldun delivered in that gathering an eloquent speech which he records verbatim. He spoke of the merits of the *ulama* in supporting the Muslim state, of the rise of states, and went on to speak of the merits of the dynasties of Egyptian Sultans in supporting Islam and increasing its power, of their interest in founding mosques and schools, of their patronage of science, the *ulama* and the judges. He then invoked God's blessing on Al-Malik al-Zahir and praised his justice and sagacity. He also alluded to himself and the honour bestowed by his appointment to the post, speaking in poetical words of his voyage from the West to the East, of the power and greatness of Islam and the flourishing intellectual movement, and expressing his thanks for the honour conferred upon him.

The gathering, which was attended by distinguished men and notables to hear the first lecture of the fertile thinker, presented a brilliant sight. Ibn

Khaldun is careful to record it as he is careful to record the effect he believed to have made. He says: "The gathering broke up and I was bidden good-bye with honour and respect."[1] This proves that Ibn Khaldun felt, with pride and confidence, that he was a distinguished personality entitled to special demonstrations of honour and respect. The second step was his success in obtaining government posts,—his appointment as Maliki Chief Justice about the end of Jamada II, 786 A.H. (August, 1384 A.D.) in place of Jamal al-Din ibn Khair al-Sakandari, who was relieved of his post. His promotion of this post, which is one of the four posts considered among the highest in the state, was the prelude to the storm which raged round him and the disputes which troubled the serenity of his life, undermined his influence and removed him, more than once, from his post. Ibn Khaldun writes with irony: "I continued my study and lectures till the Sultan, in one of his royal fits, was indignant against the then Maliki judge, removed him from his post and summoned me to his council, surrounded by Emirs, to replace him. I declined the offer, but he insisted."[2] Ibn Khaldun knew all about those "royal fits" and that they often concealed more evil and vengeance than favour and sympathy. But he wishes us to understand that his rise to the post of judge was not only a royal fit, but he was chosen by the Sultan "for special merits and high prestige."

1 *Al-Taarif* (manuscript copy), p. 110. 2. *Ibid.*, p. 111.

II

We can understand that the appointment of Ibn Khaldun to the post of judge was not an ordinary event. He was a foreigner, but rapidly advanced in the Sultan's favour, and in obtaining posts. The posts of professors and judges were always aspired after by the local *faqihs* and *ulama*; to confer these posts on newly-arrived foreigners was thus a jest not welcomed by them. Therefore the learned Berber entered upon his duties in an atmosphere of rivalry and envy. He sat as a judge in the court of the Salihiah School in the district of Bein al-Qasrein, and soon after indications of spite and intrigue were noticed around him. Ibn Khaldun explains to us the cause of this storm. He tells us much about corruption and disorder in the Egyptian courts at that time, the partiality which characterised the judgments, the ignorance and corruption of most of the judges, *muftis*, clerks and witnesses, and that he tried to set up severe and impartial justice, vigorously put an end to corruption, and wiped out all sorts of intercession and passion. He says: "I assumed the charge of this honourable post, and spared no effort to apply impartially the laws of God, undeterred either by influence or menace, treating both parties equally, setting up the right of the weak, ignoring intercession from both sides, taking care to verify evidence and to be sure of the honesty of the witnesses, for the good among them was mixed with the bad, while the authorities

abstained from criticising them and were indulgent towards their abuses, for they falsely pretended to be the proteges of the powerful, most of them mixing with princes, and were professors and *imams*, feigning to be just and therefore the princes considered them honest, and helped and intervened for them before the judges. It was a difficult problem; abuse spread owing to false evidence; I discovered some of the cases and inflicted severe punishment..." Ibn Khaldun then enumerates the sort of evil he witnessed and which tried to uproot and suppress, and how he proceeded "with vigour and resolution," how he ignored the intercession of the notables and the high officials, which was against the tradition among his colleagues who accepted it. Indignation arose around him from all sides, and he was severely criticised and many intrigues were started against him in the court.[1]

The explanation Ibn Khaldun gives, of the causes of the indignation against him, is reasonable and bears the stamp of clearness and truth; in fact, this is admitted by his Egyptian biographers, both contemporary and close to his age. Thus Abul Mahasin, for instance, says with regard to his administration of justice, that he "administered it with great dignity and capacity, that his prestige was high and that he ignored the recommendations of high officials and notables. They began to make a campaign against him."[2] Al-Sakhawi, quoting Ibn

1. *Kitab al-Ibar*, Vol. vii, pp. 453-54.
2. *Al-Manhal al-Safi*, Vol. vii. p. 301.

Hajar says: "Ibn Khaldun treated people roughly; he did not rise when the judges came to salute him, excusing himself to those who blamed him. He punished many of the principal clerks and witnesses; he punished the contravention by boxes on the ears and imprisonment. When he was angry against some one he cried, 'Take him to prison,' and he was then boxed till his neck was red from pain."[1]

Thus the storm broke out against Ibn Khaldun only a few months after his appointment, and there were so many intrigues and incitements against him that "the atmosphere between him and the heads of the state was clouded, as he says, and he lost the sympathy and assistance he enjoyed. At that time another calamity befell him—the loss of his wife, children and property. Since his arrival, he expected his family to join him. But the Sultan of Tunis prevented their departure in order to oblige him to return. He asked Sultan Al-Zahir to intercede and allow his family to depart; his request was granted and the family sailed for Egypt. Ibn Khaldun records this calamity in the following words: "This coincided with the loss of my family and children. They sailed from Tunis in a ship which sank in a storm, and thus I lost my property, wife and children. The calamity was great; I was deeply affected and felt inclined to abandon the world and to resign my post." Not long after, the his-

1. Ibn Hajr in his *Rafi al-Isr an Kudat-i-Misr* (manuscript in the Egyptian Library) in his biography of Ibn Khaldun, and Al-Sakhawi: *Al-Dawu al-Lami*, Vol. ii, Section ii, p. 367.

torian was removed from his post of judge; in other words he was dismissed. But he wishes us to understand that his dismissal was in accordance with his wishes. He says: "The Sultan was kind enough to cover me with his sympathy and relieved me of a charge I could not bear, and, as some pretended, I could not properly discharge. He restored to the post its former incumbent and liberated me from its fetter. I departed leaving the best memory, the public expressing their regret, good wishes and thanks, as well as their sympathy and the hope of seeing me return." In short Ibn Khaldun assures us that his dismissal was only the result of prejudice, spite and intrigue, and that it raised indignation and regret in the Cairo society, and that he left his post preserving all his dignity. We shall, however, see that he was accused of ignorance of the law and its procedure, that he was not fit to fill the post of judge, and that he passionately coveted the post.

Ibn Khaldun was relieved for the first time of his post of judge in Jumada I, 787 A H. (July, 1385 A.D.), that is to say, only a year after his appointment. He then again devoted all his time to study and writing.

The dismissal of Ibn Khaldun did not, however, mean that he lost the Sultan's favour, for he continued as lecturer in the Kamhiah School. Not long after the Sultan appointed him Professor of Maliki jurisprudence at the new school he founded in the district of Bein al-Qasrein (the Zahiriah Barquqiah School). As usual Ibn Khaldun's first lecture was attended with coremony. He delivered an eloquent speech, in which he prayed to God for the Sultan, and apologised for his scanty knowledge in charming modesty. He continued to lecture in the two schools till the approach of the pilgrimage season in the year 789 A.H. when he decided to visit the Holy Land. The Sultan granted his request and gave him a good donation. He left Cairo in the middle of Shaaban and went to Hejaz by sea, and, on the accomplishment of the pilgrimage, returned again by sea as far as Kosseir whence he crossed Upper Egypt by way of the Nile and reached Cairo in Jumada I, 790 A.H. He went direct to the Sultan and told him that he had offered up prayers for him in the holy places. The Sultan received him kindly. The post of lecturer on Hadith was then vacant in the Sarghatmash School,[1] and the Sultan appointed him to it instead of lecturing on jurisprudence in the Sultaniah School. He began his lectures in the month of Moharram, 791 A H. and, as usual, delivered the opening lecture to a notable gathering. He announced his decision that *Kitab al-Muwata*, by Imam Malik was the textbook to be studied. He tells us of the subject of his first lecture on that day—he spoke of Malik, his origin, his life and the diffusion of his doctrines—and concludes with his usual pride: "The gathering ended, and I was looked upon with reverence, and

1. The school was situated to the North of Ibn Tulun Mosque near the citadel.

my fitness for high posts impressed all minds, both high and low sincerely recognising this fact."[1]

III

The historian was then appointed Shaikh (manager) of the Beibers Sufi Institute (*Khankah*), the greatest of its kind of that age. His salary was raised and his resources were increased, but his tranquillity did not last long. There was a big conspiracy which carried away the throne of Al-Zahir Barquq ; its hero and organiser was Emir Yalbugha al-Nasiri, ruler of Aleppo. The organisation and circumstances of the Cairo court, and intrigues and treacherous acts raging in it, allowed the repetition of such conspiracies. Yalbugha al-Nasiri was previously Viceroy of the Kingdom and leader of a strong party of Emirs and knights among whom was Al-Zahir Barquq Barquq, however, succeeded in a previous conspiracy (Ramadan, 784 A.H.), to capture the throne, deprive him of authority and influence and deport him to Syria. An opportunity then presented itself to Yalbugha to revolt. He marched on Cairo with his followers and Barquq having been abandoned by his supporters, fled from the citadel ; thus Yalbugha al-Nasiri entered Cairo and restored Al-Salih Haji, the former Sultan, to the throne. He arrested Barquq and sent him as a prisoner to Al-Karak (Jumada I, 791 A.H.). But another revolt arose, led by another Emir called

1. *Al-Taarif* (manuscript copy), p. 121.

Mintash, who arrested Al-Nasiri, and marched on Damascus to fight Barquq who had escaped from prison. Barquq defeated him, returned victorious to Cairo and recaptured his throne in Safar, 792 A.H., only a few months after his dethronement. Ibn Khaldun devotes in his autobiography a chapter to these events,[1] and begins it with a socio-philosophical exposition in which he speaks of the rise of states through their vitality (*Al-Asabiyah,*) the extension of their possessions, and the overflow of civilization and luxury on them, the rise of their powerful leaders who diffused in them a new spirit of vigour, and, lastly the repetition of this phenomenon. He then applies this theory to the Egyptian dynasties since the days of Salah al-Din (Saladin) and concisely gives their history. Here we see Ibn Khaldun, as we see him in his Prolegomena, a social philosopher who explains phenomena and beings, and understands them through the light of historical events.

It seems that Ibn Khaldun suffered from this upheaval. He lost all or some of his posts and income by the downfall of the party whose patronage he enjoyed. When Al-Zahir Barquq returned to the throne he restored him all that he had lost, as is proved by his comment on the return of Al-Zahir; "God then restored him to his throne to manage the affairs of the nation, and bestowed on him the

1. *Al-Taarif* (manuscript copy), p. 122 and the following ; and Makrizi : *Al-Khitat* (Bulak), Vol. ii, p. 242.

same honour as he had before, and the Sultan restored to me his previous favours."[1]

For some years Ibn Khaldun devoted his time to research and study. He stops in recording his life at this stage till the beginning of 797 A.H. in the current biography annexed to his history. He continues this autobiography some more stages in the manuscript copy referred to above, and gives details of his life till the close of 807 A.H., that is to say, only a few months before his death. The manuscript copy gives more details even in the stages which concord with those of the printed copy. It was for this reason that we preferred to consult the manuscript copy in addition to the printed one in all matters where more details are given. But the manuscript copy will henceforth be our only source in all details of the historian's life.

In this interval there is nothing in the life of Ibn Khaldun which is worthy to record, except his attempt to conclude relations between the court of Cairo and the Sultans of North Africa Ibn Khaldun speaks concisely of these royal relations and describes the correspondence and presents exchanged between Salah al-Din and Banu Abd al-Mumin (the Almohades), kings of North Africa, and between Al-Nasir Kalawun and the kings of Banu Mareen. He describes the Egyptian and the Moorish presents and refers to his efforts to conclude relations between Al-Malik al-Zahir and the Sultan of Tunis. The

1. *Kitab al-Ibar*, Vol. vii, p. 462.

purport of these efforts is that he wrote to the Sultan of Tunis urging him to send a present to the King of Egypt. He sent him, as a present, a number of rare horses, but they were drowned with the ship which was carrying the historian's family. Al-Malik al-Zahir returned the compliment, and sent a present to the Sultan of Tunis. He then sent in the year 799 A.H. envoys to purchase a number of horses, and Ibn Khaldun gave them instructions and recommendations, but they returned with a magnificent present which the Sultan of Tunis had prepared but was delayed, and several other presents by the Emirs of North Africa, including magnificent horses and a number of gilt saddles. Ibn Khaldun describes the day on which the presents were offered and exhibited, and tells us that he felt that day proud and honoured, "owing to the success of his efforts to conclude permanent relations between those kings."

CHAPTER VII

In Damascus and in the Camp of Timur

The return of Ibn Khaldun to the post of judge. Death of Sultan Barquq and the accession of Al-Nasir Faraj Ibn Khaldun's visit to Palestine. His dismissal from the post of judge. The invasion of Syria by the Tartars Al-Nasir Faraj marches to meet the invaders Ibn Khaldun accompanies him to Damascus. His sudden return to Egypt. Ibn Khaldun descends from the wall of Damascus and marches to the camp of Timur His account of meeting the invader His interview with Timur. His treatise on the geography of North Africa He discusses the question of Caliphate with the invader Ibn Khaldun's present to Timur His peace negotiations. The reports of Makrizi, Ibn Iyas and Ibn Arabshah. Ibn Khaldun asks the conqueror to allow him to depart His return to Egypt He attempts to return to the post of judge His third appointment to this post. The intrigues raging around him. The climax of the struggle between him and his rivals Successive appointments and dismissals. Death of Ibn Khaldun.

I

IBN KHALDUN was kept away from the post of judge for about fourteen years; there stood between him and this post, as he says, that party of the court which was intriguing against him, and inciting the Sultan to dismiss him. When that party lost its influence and its leaders banished, the Sultan took the first opportunity to restore him to his post. This happened in the middle of Ramadan, 801 A.H. (May, 1398 A.D.), on the death of Nasir al-Din al-Tansi, the Maliki judge. At that time Ibn Khaldun was in Fayum looking after the harvest of the crops in his farm, endowed to him by the Wakfs of the Kamhiah School. The Sultan summoned him and appointed him judge for the

second time. Not long after the Sultan died in the middle of Shawwal, and was succeeded by his son al-Nasir Faraj. The affairs of the state were disturbed and for some time there were local revolts. When the matters were somewhat settled, the historian applied for permission to go to Jerusalem which was granted, and Ibn Khaldun roamed about in the holy city visiting its old monuments. He visited Al-Masjid al-Aqsa, the tomb of Al-Khalil and the monuments of Bethlehem but he refused to enter the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. He tells us: "This building raised by the Christian nations on the spot where Christ was supposed to be crucified did not appeal to me and I refused to enter it." He then returned and joined the Sultan's procession which was returning from Syria, at the outskirts of Egypt and entered Cairo with him about the end of Ramadan, 802 A.H.

In Moharram, 803 A.H., Ibn Khaldun was relieved of his post of judge for the second time. We shall see that his dismissal was the result of organised efforts of the historian's adversaries, and that its repetition was a remarkable manifestation of the struggle between him and his adversaries in and out of the court. Not long after news was received that Timur[1] had invaded Syria with his forces and captured the city of Aleppo amid horrible sights of bloodshed and destruction (Rabi I, 80; A.H., 1400 A.D.)[2] and that he had crossed to

1. Commonly known in English by the name of Tamerlane.
2. For the details of the conquest of Aleppo see Al-Makrizi : *Al-Suluk fi Duwal al-Muluk* (manuscript in the Egyptian Library), Vol. iii, p. 23.

Southern Syria as far as Damascus. This news alarmed Egypt and the court was greatly disturbed. Al-Nasir Faraj hastened with his forces to meet and repulse the Tartar invader, being accompanied by the four judges and a number of *faqihs* and *sufis* among whom was Ibn Khaldun. There is no doubt that Ibn Khaldun was not pleased with this surprise which reminded him of all he suffered in North Africa from these dangerous royal missions. He tells us plainly that he tried to elude this voyage. Had not Yashbak, the Sultan's chamberlain, persuaded him with honied words and valuable presents Ibn Khaldun would not have joined it.[1] The historian devotes a chapter to the events of this expedition, and prefaces it with an account of the rise of the Tartars and the Saljuks. The expedition marched in Rabi II, 803 A.H. and arrived in Damascus in Jumada I. Ibn Khaldun and the *faqihs* and *ulama* stayed at Adiliah School. The Egyptian troops were soon engaged with the invader near Damascus in local battles in which the Egyptians maintained their posts. Peace negotiations now began between the two sides, but owing to dissension in the Sultan's camp some of the Emirs secretly left for Egypt. The Sultan learned that they had planned a plot to dethrone him and place on the throne another Emir called Lashin. He, therefore, left Damascus to its fate and hastened to Cairo where he arrived in Jumada II.[2] Soon after

1. *Al-Taarif* (MS) Al-Makrizi says that the Sultan gave express orders to Yashbak to force Ibn Khaldun to depart. (*Al-Suluk*, Vol. iii p. 24).
2. *Al-Suluk*, Vol. ii, p. 26.

the commanders and the leaders disagreed on the capitulation of the city. Here we find the historian impelled by the spirit of adventure as well as by egotism. He was afraid that the city would fall into the hands of the invader when he would be killed or tortured. He resorted to audacity and decided to abandon the hesitant commanders and go to the invader's camp to ask him to spare his life and ensure his fortune. The historian speaks frankly on the subject, and, commenting on the disagreement between the commanders, says: "I heard the news, and apprehended the consequences, so I went at dawn to meet the judges at the door and, being alarmed, asked either to be allowed to go out or to be let down from the wall."[1] The historian managed to convince his colleagues who hauled him down from the wall. At the door he met some of Timur's suite and his son Shah Malik, who had been appointed Governor of Damascus (when it capitulated), and join them. He asked to be allowed to meet Timur, and they accompanied him to the camp and at once introduced him to the invader in his tent. Ibn Khaldun describing this famous interview says: "I entered the tent where he was sitting, inclining on his elbow, while the dishes were being carried before him to excite the appetite of the Mongol troops sitting in circles before his tent. When I entered I bowed and made signs of submission. He raised his head and extended his hand

1. *Al-Taarif* (manuscript copy).

which I kissed. He ordered me to sit down and I did so where I was. He then summoned one of his suite, Abd-al-Jabbar ibn al-Numan, a Hanafite *faqih* from Khuwarazm, to interpret between us."[1]

The invader had a long talk with the historian; he inquired about his affairs and his news, and the reason of his coming from Egypt and all that happened to him there. He also asked him about North Africa, its cities, affairs and Sultans, and ordered him to write for him a treatise describing North Africa. The historian told him that he had heard of him and for forty years had longed to see him, that is to say, since the rise of his star and the spread of his renown. He also explained to him some of his social theories about the vitality of the state and sovereignty. There is no doubt that there was a negotiation on the subject of the city between the historian and the invader, in which the former was able to convince the chiefs and *faqihs* of the necessity of capitulation, for Damascus soon after opened its door to the invader. The judges and chiefs, headed by the historian, went to Timur's camp to offer submission. Ibn Khaldun tells us that Timur dismissed them but kept him for some time. He then retired, and for some days was busy writing the treatise describing North Africa, which as he says, when completed, was in twelve small books. He presented it to Timur who ordered it to

1. *Al-Taarif* (manuscript copy).

be translated into the Mongolian language.[1]

It was understood that Damascus would escape the invader's revenge by surrendering but, on the pretext that the fort continued to resist, the Tartars tightened the blockade till it surrendered, and they stormed the city, arrested many of the inhabitants and committed murder, havoc and pillage and set fire to most of its districts; the terrible scenes which took place in Aleppo were repeated. Ibn Khaldun did not, however, sever his relations with the invader but continued to be in touch with him, and often visited him in the course of this calamity. Timur, in his conversation with the historian, told him of the case of a certain person who presented himself to him pretending to be the Caliph and to be a descendant of the Abbasides. There were long legal discussions on this subject in which the historian took part and expressed his opinions on the Caliphate. Ibn Khaldun also offered the invader a present composed of "a beautiful copy of the Quran, a splendid rug, a copy of the Burda ode, and four boxes of delicious Egyptian sweets." When he presented them to Timur he raised the Quran over his head; he then inquired about the Burda, tasted the sweets and distributed some to those present. The historian asked Timur for an *aman* (guarantee of safety) for the judges,

1. This treatise is unknown to us, but most probably it was nothing but a detailed account of what he wrote on the subject in his general history, in the part reserved for the history of the Berbers, where he prefaced it with a general geographical description of Barbary; see *Kitab al-Ibar*, Vol. vi, p. 98 and the following.

chiefs and officials, which was granted.

This is the story of Ibn Khaldun's relations with the Tartar invader, and his conversations and interviews with him. Here he played the role of the old politician. But another great Egyptian contemporary historian, Al-Makrizi, gives us a different account of these events. He tells us that it was the judge Taqi al-Din ibn Muflih al Hanbali who negotiated with Timur on the capitulation of Damsacus; he was sent by the chiefs to the invader in response to his request to conclude peace when he failed to storm the city, and that Ibn Muflih used all his influence to convince the chiefs to surrender ; also, that it was he who was let down outside the wall with a number of notables and *faqihs*, accompanied them to the invader's camp, concluded peace with him and obtained the *aman*, and, lastly, that he undertook to execute all his desires in collecting money and booty. But Timur soon after broke his promise, for he arrested Ibn Muflih and his companions, and his troops stormed the city and looted and set it on fire.[1] This report is confirmed by another Egyptian historian, Ibn Iyas, who tells us that the chiefs chose Ibn Muflih to negotiate because or his knowledge of the Turkish language.[2] Al-Makrizi, however, confirms the report of Ibn Khaldun in another part of his book and says: "When he knew that the Sultan had

1. *Al-Suluk*, Vol. ii, Section ii, p. 27.
2. Ibn Iyas, *Tarikh Misr* (Bulak), Vol. i, pp. 331-332.

departed, he let himself down from the wall of the city and went to Timur, who honoured him, ordered him to sit down and lodged him ; he then gave him permission to return to Egypt, which he did." He afterwards says that Timur issued for him the edict of journey and released, through his intervention, a number of captives.[1] Ibn Khaldun says plainly in his report that it was he who negotiated and intervened for the conclusion of the armistise between the invader and the inhabitants of Damascus, and that he represented the chiefs and the judges before Timur. We do not doubt his statement. This is also the report of Ibn Arabshah, Timur's historian, who wrote his history soon after these events. He describes how Ibn Khaldun met the invader under the walls of Damascus, at the head of the *ulama* and the judges, and describes in charming, poetic words the interview verbatim.[2] The authenticity of this report does not, however, contradict the fact that Ibn Muflih may have taken part in the negotiations and undertaken the execution of the conditions of the capitulation.

Perhaps Ibn Khaldun had, with regard to his relations with the invader, hopes other than those in which he was successful, with regard to Damascus and his colleagues, the *ulama* and the judges. Perhaps he may have expected to be attached to the conqueror's suite, to gain his favour and patronage.

1. *Al-Suluk*, Vol. ii, p. 28.
2. Ibn Arabshah: *Ajaib al-Makdur* (Cairo), p. 123 and the following.

But there is no doubt that he did not succeed in realising such aspirations, for a few weeks after he was weary of his sojourn in Damascus, and applied to Timur for permission to return to Egypt. Timur gave him permission, and, in that audience, asked Ibn Khaldun to present him with a mule, if possible, and the historian presented one to him. Timur later sent him its price soon after his return to Egypt. The historian left Damascus in Rajab, 803 A.H., only two months after his arrival there. He was attacked on the way by thieves who robbed him of his money and effects, but he arrived in Cairo early in Shaaban, 803 A.H. Here the historian exclaims with satisfaction for his escape: "I thanked God for my safety," and tells us that he wrote to the Sultan of Tunis, his old patron, speaking of these events, as well as of his interviews with Timur, and describing the invader, his great power and vast Empire.

II

As soon as Ibn Khaldun settled down in Cairo he tried to regain his post of judge. We have seen that he continued to occupy the chair of lecturer in one or two schools. But judgeship is a post of influence and authority, and Ibn Khaldun felt in that atmosphere of dispute and rivalry, that he was in need of the influence he formerly enjoyed in all his relations with the Sultan. The struggle about this post, the demonstration of which we saw in his successive appointments and dismissals, undoubtedly

inflamed his passion to obtain the post; this would be the symbol of his triumph over his adversaries and rivals. At that time the historian was seventy-four years old and his ambitious soul always aspired after a position of influence and honour. An impartial Egyptian historian describes for us this mentality in a few words. He says at the conclusion of the historian's biography: "May God have mercy upon him. How fond he was of office!"[1] But besides this passion for office, there was a struggle between Ibn Khaldun and his adversaries. The post of judge was, as we shall see, the cause of this struggle. Ibn Khaldun was raised to it whenever he was able to retrieve his influence in the court and to overcome the intrigues of his enemies, and he lost it when his adversaries succeeded in their intrigues against him.

Ibn Khaldun was relieved of the post of judge for the second time in Moharram, 803 A.H., and he was out of office when he joined the Sultan's suite in his journey to Syria. His adversaries availed themselves of his absence to intrigue against him, and some even said that he met his death in the events of Damascus.[2] The historian here wishes us to understand that the post was reserved for him, or, at least, that he was promised to be reappointed to it by the authorities. He tells us that, in consequence of this intrigue, a Maliki judge, Jamal al-Din al-Ikfishi, was appointed in his place (Jumada

1. Abul Mahasin, *Al-Manhal al-Safi*, Vol. ii, p. 301.
2. *Al-Taarif* (manuscript copy).

II, 803 A.H.). When he returned to Cairo this appointment was cancelled and Al-Ikfishi was dismissed; Ibn Khaldun was appointed for the third time about the end of Shaaban or early in Ramadan. He remained at this post for about a year, working in an atmosphere tense with intrigues and disputes, but he tells us that, as usual, he took no pains to flatter the notables and that he continued, as before, "administering right and taking no heed of personal interests" The old intrigues again raged around him and he was bitterly attacked; the fight led to the usual issue and the historian was again relieved of his office on Rajab 14, 804 A.H. and was replaced about the end of Rajab by Jamal al-Din al-Busati who had previously held this post. It seems that the fight was, this time, more explicit, and that Ibn Rhaldun suffered more than ever by the attacks of his adversaries, so that, when dismissed, he was summoned to appear before the great Hajib to answer many charges. On this subject Ibn Hajar and Al-Sakhawi say: "Several charges were brought against Ibn Khaldun, many of which were false, and he was grossly insulted."[1] Here the fight between the historian and his adversaries was intensified, and became a violent struggle with immediate consequences, its manifestation being exchanging the post of judge. But, for a time, it was limited to Ibn Khaldun and Al-Busati, which proves that the latter represented the party hostile to the historian

1. Ibn Hajar: *Raf al-Isr un Kudat Misr*, p. 159, quoted by Al-Sakhawi in *Al-Dawu al-Lami*.

in this phase of the struggle. It also appears that Ibn Khaldun relied, in opposing his adversaries, on factors and forces not less effective than those his adversaries relied upon. Hardly three months after his appointment, Al-Busati was relieved from the post early in Zul-Hijja and Ibn Khaldun appointed for the fourth time on the 16th Zul Hijja. He remained a year and two months in this post, but his adversaries were again stronger and he was dismissed (7th Rabi I, 806 A.H.) and al-Busati restored to the post in the same month. He was, however, dismissed again in Rajab, 807, and Ibn Khaldun restored to the post for the fifth time in Shaaban, 807. Three months after, on 26th Zul-Qaada of the same year, he was dismissed, and replaced by his old rival Jamal al-Din al-Ikfishi who occupied the post for three months, and was dismissed and replaced by Jamal al-Din al-Tansi for only two days. Al-Busati was then restored in Rabi I, 808, and dismissed in Shaaban of the same year. Ibn Khaldun was restored to the post for the sixth time but occupied it for only few weeks.[1] On Ramadan 26, 808 A.H. (March 16, 1406 A.D.) the great historian and thinker, as Maliki judge, died in the seventy-eighth year of his age after a brilliant and eventful life and with a legacy of splendid and most original thought. He was

1. For the phases of this struggle and the exchange of appointment and dismissal, see Ibn Khaldun's *Al-Taarif* (manuscript copy, p. 147); Al-Suyuti; *Husn al-Mohadara* (Cairo), Vol ii, p 123; and *Al-Mankal al-Sufi*, Vol. ii, p. 301. There are slight differences in the dates of these reports.

buried in the Sufi cemetery outside Bab al-Nasr,[1] which at that time was the burial ground for important persons and the *ulama*. Ibn Khaldun's record of the news of this astonishing struggle ends with his dismissal for the fifth time in Zul-Qaada, 807 A.H., that is to say, only a few months before his death.

1. Al-Sakhawi : *Al-Dawu al-Lami*, Vol. ii, Part II, p. 370

CHAPTER VIII

Ibn Khaldun and Egyptian Thougght

Ibn Khaldun keeps away from politics in Egypt. His literary output in this interval. Ibn Khaldun's opinion of the Egyptians The seeds of dispute between him and the society of Cairo. Egyptian writers attack him. The attitude of Al-Hafiz ibn Hajar and other with regard to him and his work Al-Sakhawi's criticism The Egyptian writers who support him Al Makrizi is influenced by his thought and theories. The theories of Al-Makrizi as to the causes of the calamities which befell Egypt. Abul Mahasin praises Ibn Khaldun. Ibn Khaldun's life in Egypt. His seclusion and moral pains. Where Ibn Khaldun lived in Cairo? Where is his tomb?

I

IBN KHALDUN spent twenty-three years in Egypt (754-808 A.H,) but, of all the stages of his life, they were the least eventful, the least fruitful,

As for events, the stormy political life of Ibn Khaldun in North Africa in the course of which he went through a vast field of grave adventures and intrigues, and suffered much adversity as well as often enjoyed posts of influence and authority is, in fact, a vivid, sensational page of the history of North Africa in the middle of the eight century A.H.—this stormy life the historian replaced by a quieter one in Egypt. In Egypt Ibn Khaldun lived as an ordinary personality who had nothing to do with the great affairs of the state, after having spent a quarter of a century in North Africa as its moving spirit. He divested himself of the garb of the political adventurer to wear the robe of the great

scholar, and to derive his limited influence from this quality. In this interval this historian, however, met with two of the most important events of his life, we mean the loss of his family and his meeting with the Tartar invader Timur.

As for his literary output we have seen that the historian accomplished the greater work of his life—we mean his voluminous History and his excellent Prolegomena—before he arrived in Egypt. We have no knowledge of his having written and work during his sojourn in Egypt; but there is no doubt that having easy access to libraries and books of reference he had the opportunity to correct, improve and add to his History and Prolegomena. We shall see in another chapter that he continued to revise his work and make many additions to it, particularly with regard to the history of Muslim kingdoms in East, the North African states and Andalusia of his time, and recorded the events of his age to the close of the eighth century, after having stopped at the year 873 A.H., the year he finished his work. The historian also continued to write his autobiography during his sojourn in Egypt, almost to the last hour of his life, embodying new chapters on the characteristics of the Egyptian Mameluke dynasties and the origin of the Tartars, and wrote, while in Syria, a description of the countries of North Africa and presented it to Timur. There is nodoubt Ibn Khaldun also diffused his social principles and opinions in the course of his lectures and

conversations.

It appears, however, that Ibn Khaldun could not create in Egypt a real school stamped with his opinions and methods. It was natural that he should have created such a school in a country where he devoted his time to research and study for long years. It is true the Egyptian contemporary thought does not lack the influence of Ibn Khaldun, as we shall see. But this influence which should have flourished in Egypt and spread in its historical school, at that time very famous, was small and limited in extent. This fact could be attributed to the spirit with which the historian was received by the intellectual society of Egypt—a spirit of dislike and hostility. Before Ibn Khaldun arrived in Egypt, he was preceded by his opinion about the Egyptians in his Prolegomena—"a nation inclined to merriment, frivolity and disregard of consequence."[1] This remark Ibn Khaldun makes in speaking of the influence of climate on the character of a people and considers it the result of Egypt being situated in the tropical zone. But although this remark may seem to be the result of scientific research, it could not be received without dissatisfaction and anger by those against whom it was made. It was natural that this evil seed should produce a bad effect on the feelings of the Egyptian society towards the historian. This society itself was raging with elements of dispute and rivalry, and

1. *The Prolegomena*, p. 13.

its leaders were imbued with mutual ill-feeling and hostility. The rivalry between the masters of thought and literature of that time, whether in the field of superior production or for attaining influence and wealth through intellectual leadership, was manifestation of this dispute. Egyptian literary society was then divided into several factions each of which sided with some leader or a party of leaders whose literary efforts they supported and whose adversaries they fought in the field of controversy. It was thus not easy for a foreigner like Ibn Khaldun, who came to join this society and to seek influence and living, to enjoy a quiet atmosphere or be met with friendship, not to speak of his vehemence, severity and pride which added to the enmity and anger surrounding him.

It was natural that the opinions and views of Ibn Khaldun should meet, in this troubled atmosphere, with indifference and criticism more than with popularity and appreciation, and that they should have a limited diffusion and impression. Yet a number of Egyptian thinkers and scholars of note attended his lectures and profited by them, and we can perceive their effects in some of the fruits of contemporary Egyptian thought. Among those who attended his lectures was Al-Hafiz ibn Hajar al-Asqulani, the great Hadith scholar and historian. He tells us in his book "the Judges of Egypt" that he often met Ibn Khaldun and profited by his knowledge and works, particularly his history, and that

he was very eloquent, a good essayist, a poet of medium ability with profound knowledge, particularly of the affairs of the state, and that he was a good critic of poetry although not a great poet.[1] But Ibn Hajar violently attacks Ibn Khaldun and cites in his biography of the historian many of the statements made against him. He tells us in his history that Ibn Khaldun was an able historian, but that he was not well acquainted with the true annals, particularly those of the East, and disagrees with Al-Makrizi in his praise of the Prolegomena, and says that all that distinguishes it is rhetoric, play on words after the method of Al-Jahiz, and that its merits are few, but rhetoric embellishes its contents so as to seem excellent although they are not. As for Ibn Khaldun in the capacity of Judge, Ibn Hajar tells us that he administered justice with severity and in a manner unusual in Egypt, and when appointed to this post he treated people coldly and punished many of the senior clerks and witnesses, and that he was dismissed for the first time for committing forgery in a document. Here he cites much of what was said criticising and discrediting the historian, such as: "When the inhabitants of North Africa heard of his appointment to the post of judge they were astonished and attributed want of knowledge to the Egyptians. Thus Ibn Arafa said: 'We had always considered judgeship one of the highest posts, but when he was appointed we considered it the lowest'."

1. *Raf al-Isr* (manuscript copy), p. 160; also quoted by Al-Sakhawi in *Al-Dawu al-Lami*.

Al-Rikraki, one of the senior clerks, who worked with Ibn Khaldun, says that he was ignorant of the *Sharia* (Muslim Law). Ibn Hajar also cites certain personal and moral attacks made against the historian, such as that quoted from Al-Aintabi, to the effect that he was accused of improper charges, and that (quoted from the book of the judges by Al-Bishbishi) "in his last years Ibn Khaldun was fond of hearing lady-singers, of mixing with young men, and that he married a woman who had a beautiful brother of doubtful morality." Also that "he often despised people, that he was polite only when out of office, but, when in office, he was rough and vehement, in fact, no one would treat him or see him." These statements reveal a profound antagonism and exaggerated depreciation which turns to mere defamation. Bishbishi[1] was no doubt one of the bitterest and severest adversaries of the historian, and recorded his attacks in a book he wrote on the history of the judges; this book has not come down to us, but Ibn Hajar quotes from it those biting personal passages. Finally Ibn Hajar says that Ibn Khaldun always adhered to his Moorish garb, and refused to wear the judges' dress only because he was fond of behaving differently in everything.[2]

1. Jamal al-Din Abdulla al-Aishbishi was born in 762 A.H. in the village of Bishbish, Gharbia Province, and died in 820 A.H He was a great Shafi *faqih* (jurist) and a famous man of letters. He was for a time manager of the *Hisba* (public prosecutor) in Cairo, See his biography in *Al-Dawu al-Lami*, Vol. vii, Part III, p 511.

2. For all these quotations see Ibn Hajar: *Inba al-Ghumr* (manuscript copy), Vol i, p. 711 : and *Raf al-Isr*, in his biography of Ibn Khaldun, pp. 158-60.

The attitude of Al-Hafiz ibn Hajar towards Ibn Khaldun and his work calls for reflection. In spite of his sobriety, moderation and reserve, he resorts here to a sort of defamation and depreciation unusual in his writings. There is no doubt that his tone and statements are characterised by exaggeration and partiality. But there is no doubt also, that they have their value in the appreciation of contemporary Egyptian public opinion of Ibn Khaldun. In fact they could be considered as representing the opinion of the intellectual group who declared war against the historian and severely discredited and attacked him. This was, no doubt, the stronger party, because it included many prominent thinkers and *faqihs*, such as Ibn Hajar, Jamal al-Din al-Bishbishi, Al-Rikraki and Badr al-Din al-Aini (Al-Aintabi). The echo of this literary dispute resounded all through the ninth century A.H. when Al-Sakhawi appeared towards the end of this century, and repeated all that his *shaikh* (professor) Ibn Hajar had said and quoted against Ibn Khaldun and his work, but in a bitter biting tone revealing more ill-will and intention to discredit and demolish than as attempt at right criticism. This same spirit is evident in his biographical dictionary (*Al-Dawu al-Lami*) in the biographies of most of the outstanding personalities. Yet, he admits, in one of his other books, the excellence of the Prolegomena and is more moderate and appreciative.[1]

1. *Kitab al-Ilan bil Tawbikh* (Cairo), p. 151.

II

On the other hand Ibn Khaldun gained the admiration of another strong group of Egyptian thinkers. At the head of this group stood the great historian. Taqi al-Din al-Makrizi. In his youth Makrizi attended the lectures of Ibn Khaldun and admired his vast erudition, his interesting lectures and original views and theories. Al-Makrizi speaks of his *shaikh*, Ibn Khaldun, with the greatest respect and veneration, and calls him "our master, the great scholar and professor, the chief justice".[1] In his book entitled *Al-Suluk* he describes Ibn Khaldun's life in Egypt and Syria, and in his book *Durur al-Uqud al-Farida* gives his detailed biography with admiration, and is very enthusiastic in his appreciation of the Prolegomena. He says: "It is a unique work of its kind, an accomplishment too difficult to realise; in fact it is the essence of knowledge and science and the result of a sane mind. It reveals the truth of things, events and news; it explains the state of the universe and reveals the origin of all beings in an admirable, plain style."[2] This estimation is contradicted by Ibn Hajar who with his disciple, Al-Sakhawi, blames Al-Makrizi for his impartial attitude towards Ibn Khaldun, and accuses him of exaggeration and excess of admiration and veneration. Ibn Hajar explains this attitude by the

1. *Al-Khitat*, Vol. ii, pp. 67 and 190

2. Only a small part of *Durur al-Uqud al-Farida* had come down to us We rely here on the quotation of Al-Sakhawi; and Ibn Hajar from Al-Makrizi in *Al-Dawu al-Lami*, *Raf al-Isr* and *Inba al-Ghumr*.

fact that Al-Makrizi was a Fatimide and Ibn Khaldun supported the authenticity of the origin. He then goes on to tell us that Al-Makrizi did not understand the object of Ibn Khaldun, for, being an antagonist of the family of Ali, he supports the lineage of the Fatimides owing to the fact that the Fatimides were accused of heresy and that some of them pretended to be of a divine nature.

Al-Makrizi not only highly praised and appreciated Ibn Khaldun but was also much impressed by his theories, as is evident in his book *I ghathat al-Umma bi Kashf al-Ghumma* of which we have a single manuscript copy in the Egyptian Library.[1]

In this book, which he says he revised in a single night of Muharram, 808 A.H., and in which he speaks of the calamities of Egypt from the earliest time to his days, Al-Makrizi, in his exposition and reasoning, adopts the method of his master Ibn Khaldun as in the Prolegomena. He prefaces his treatise by a short comparison between the past and the present, and a short account of the misfortunes of the high cost of living and the scarcity of water, which befell Egypt from the Deluge to his time. He then devotes a chapter to the causes which led to these misfortunes, and to their continuation for so long. In this chapter we see plainly the method of Ibn Khaldun in research and explanation. In fact, we see Al-Makrizi using the words and expressions of his master,

1 This book has now been published by Lajnat al-Talif wal-Tarjama, Cairo, 1940.

such as "the conditions of existence and the nature of society," etc. According to Makrizi the causes of ruin and misfortune are:

1. Corruption in filling high posts of the state, both civil and religious, and their occupation by the despot and the ignorant.

2. The high lease of lands and increase in the cost of production over the price of the crops.

3 Depreciated coins.

The above is followed by a treatise on the history of currency in the Muslim states and in Egypt.

He then speaks of the classes of society and the conditions of people and divides the Egyptian society into seven classes:

1. The officials of the state.

2. The wealthy merchants and the well-to-do (the aristocracy).

3. The shop-keepers or middle-class merchants and the workers (the commonplace).

4. The farmers, the peasants and the rural population.

5. The poor, including most of the *faqihs* and students.

6. The businessmen, artisans and liberal professions.

7. The vagabonds, the extremely poor who live by mendicity.

Al-Makrizi speaks of the condition of each class in detail, and goes on to tell us of the prices particularly those of foodstuffs, and concludes with his opinion as to how these misfortunes should be remedied, which is to change the system of currency and use only currency of stable value such as gold and silver; this is the very idea of the stabilisation of currency.

This is Al-Makrizi's method of explanation and reasoning. Thus we see the influence of the historian evident in the method of his disciple, and we can find much similarity between the statements of Al-Makrizi in his treatise and the chapters Ibn Khaldun wrote in his Prolegomena on the nature of sovereignty and the factors of its decline, the currency, the effect of taxes on the state and the effect of injustice on the destruction of civilisation, and how anarchy creeps into the state, and is overcome by the excess of civilisation, high cost of living, famine, and other matters connected with the decay and downfall of the state.[1] We can even see this influence in some of the writings of Al-Sakhawi in his book *Al-Ilan bil Tawbikh*, dealing with the value of history, and its effects in studying the conditions of nations. Here also inspite of his controversy with Ibn Khaldun, Al-Sakhawi is influenced by his philosophical theory in explaining and understanding history.

1. See these chapters in the Prolegomena, pp. 140-41, 157-58, 217-20, 246, 252.

There is also another Egyptian historian, Abul Mahasin ibn Taghri Birdi, who shares with his master Al-Makrizi his appreciation of Ibn Khaldun and praises his abilities and impartiality when he was judge. He tells us that he administered justice with high prestige and great dignity and was appreciated by all.

The influence of Ibn Khaldun is also evident from the fact that a number of great Egyptian contemporary writers consulted and quoted his Prolegomena and History, such as Abul Abbas al-Qalqashandi, author of *Subh al-Aasha*, who quotes Ibn Khaldun on various occasions in his work.

III

This is a minute comprehensive picture of the life of Ibn Khaldun in Egypt, his relation with its public life and influence on its contemporary intellectual movement.

This interval in the life of the historian, lasting twenty-three years, is quite different from his life in North Africa. There he lived principally as a statesman, successively occupying posts of distinction in the Berber states and courts, and taking part in endless intrigues and adventures. But in Egypt he lived as a scholar and judge, and if we exclude his negotiations with Timur in the course of the events at Damascus, and his efforts to establish relations between the court of Cairo and the Sultans of North Africa he had no chance to play a role worthy of

mention in the course of Egyptian politics. If Ibn Khaldun has also taken part in intrigues in Egypt, the conflict was local, of limited consequence and personal nature.

The life of Ibn Khaldun in Egypt was more settled, tranquil and luxurious than in North Africa. But it seems that clouds of sorrow and moral pain hung over this comfortable life. In Egypt he was a stranger far from home and family, and lived in an atmosphere of antagonism and dispute. We can perceive the pain of nostalgia in certain places. He expresses it when he tells us of his contact with the Sultan on his arrival and says: "The Sultan showed me the utmost kindness and made me feel at home." He reveals this pain in various places.

There is no doubt that the loss of the historian's family increased his mental pain. He speaks of this calamity in a tone of sorrow and despair when he says: "Misfortune and despair were great and I was inclined to lead a hermit's life."

Ibn Khaldun preferred a life of seclusion on various occasions, to which he refers in certain parts. Thus he tells us that he passed his time at home enjoying health and preferring seclusion. His Egyptian biographers also refer to this seclusion; Al-Sakhawi says: "He was accompanied by many friends in his retired life; he was cheerful to them and often cut jokes with them." In these intervals the historian was busy corresponding with his friends in North Africa and Andalusia— Sultans,

Emirs and *faqihs*, as he says in more than one place.

It would be interesting to know where the historian lived in Cairo. We have two statements quoted by Ibn Hajar from Al-Jamal al-Bishbishi. Al-Jamal says in the first statement that he was one day not far from Al-Salihiah and there saw Ibn Khaldun on his way to his house, accompanied by some of his assistant judges. We understand from this statement that the historian lived for some time not far from Al-Salihiah, the district in which his school was situated, that is to say, the district of Bein al-Qasrein, or in another quarter close to it, because his office as chief justice was in this school and that the office of the Maliki *faqihs* was in the neighbourhood.[1] In his second statement Al-Jamal says, in reference to Ibn Khaldun's appointment as judge on his return from Damascus in 803 A.H. "Ibn Khaldun preferred to live close to the Nile and was fond of hearing lady singers . . ." This statement indicates that the historian lived in one of the districts lying in the vicinity of the Nile, perhaps the island of Al-Rawda, or on the opposite bank in Al-Fustat where there was a remnant of an aristocratic quarter which rose there since Al-Rawda was founded and populated and became the seat of the court in the middle of the seventh century which the great and the wealthy inhabited the opposite bank in Al-Fustat. This supposition is more probable, the Kamhiah School, where Ibn Khaldun

1. Al-Makrizi : *Al-Khitat*, Vol. ii, pp. 371-72.

always lectured, being situated near this district.

As for the last abode of the historian, Al-Sakhawi writes that he was buried in the Sufi cemetery outside Bab al-Nasr, and Makrizi says that this cemetery was situated between a number of tombs and cemeteries built by the Emirs and notables in the eighth century A.H. outside Bab al-Nasr in the direction of al-Raidaniah (now Al-Abbassiah).[1] This cemetery was made by the Sufis of Al-Salahiah Institute (Khanqah) about the end of the eighth century, and dedicated to the burial of the Sufis. The historian, as we have seen, was for some time manager of the Beibers Sufi Institute.

Will time reveal to us one day where the mortal remains of the great thinker are buried, when his tomb would be a reverable monument visited by the admirers of his splendid thought and immortal work?

1. *Al-Khitat*, Vol. ii, p. 463.

BOOK II

THE INTELLECTUAL AND SOCIAL LEGACY OF IBN KHALDUN

CHAPTER I

Sociology as exposed by Ibn Khaldun

Ibn Khaldun's comprehension of history. Sociology or the conditions of human community. How he considers it the basis to understand history. His analysis of social phenomena. How he divides sociology. The contents of the Prolegomena. Ibn Khaldun's criticism of historians. His exposition of the subject of his science. His theory of the *Asabiyah* (Vitality). Ibn Khaldun and the Arabs. His opinions of the state and sovereignty. His theory on the age of the state. The kinds of sovereignty. The origin of the cities and countries. Livelihood and how to earn it. The different kinds of sciences.

IBN KHALDUN is distinguished from the rest of Muslim historians, indeed from all his predecessors, by the fact that he considered history as a science worthy of study—not as narrative merely recorded. He wished to write history in the light of a new method of explanation and reasoning, and his reflections and studies led him to establish a kind of social philosophy. He wrote the Prolegomena of his historical work as a preliminary explanation in the light of which history should be read and its events understood. It has thus become an independent work of striking originality, recording a new system in understanding and explaining the social phenomena, and also in understanding, criticising and analysing history.

Ibn Khaldun describes this new study, which he discovered as an independent science, with a special subject—sociology and human community, and special problems, "which are to explain all the

phenomena and conditions appertaining to it, one after the other." He also tells us that this science "is new, with strange orientation and immense interest," to which he was led by private research, not dealt with by anyprevious writerexcept, perhaps, the ancients whose works perished and are, therefore, unknown to us; he us thus the first to discover it, and lay down and explain its principles.

The new science, which Ibn Khaldun founded to understand and study history, has great importance. In his opinion it is a science to distinguish truth from falsehood in recording events, and to show the possible and the impossible, "by looking into human society which is sociology, and to distinguish the conditions which appertain to it and are different in its nature from those which are only occasional and others which cannot arise. By doing this we apply a science which distinguishes truth from falsehood in records and in a method supported by proofs which admits of no doubt." It was the attempt to understand history, in this manner, that urged Ibn Khaldun to study this new subject, which is *Al-Umran* or *Al-Ijtima al-Bashari* (العمران او الا جتماع البشری), that is to say, sociology or conditions of human society.

But Ibn Khaldun looks at this subject from a different point of view, and makes of all human society and the phenomena, connected with it, a subject for his reflection, and tries to study and analyse the society, in all its phases, from its beginning and nomadic state till it is settled and organised in countries and states, as well as its fluctuations between weakness and strength, youth and old age, and rise and fall, and inquiries, in the course of his study, about the state and the characteristics of society, the elements it is composed of, its organisation from the simple individual and group to monarch and state, and the circumstances and conditions encountered by these elements in their private and public life, the requirements of the safety of society, and the symptoms of its decline and fall. In fact, Ibn Khaldun deals with a vast material which is beyond the scope of his preceding definition.

In another place Ibn Khaldun summarises the elements of his science from the subjective point of view, *viz.*, the social conditions encountered by men assembled in society, in the sphere of monarchy, livelihood, sciences and trades in a manner which reveals truth and leaves no roomforfancyanddoubt.[1]

He then divides his subject into six large chapters:

1. Human society in general, its kinds and its role in the world.
2. Nomadic society, the tribes and the savage nations.
3. States, the Caliphate, sovereignty and monarchical functions.
4. Civilised society countries and towns.

1. *The Prolegomena*, p. 33

5. Trades, manner of living and the ways to earn livelihood.

6. Sciences and how to acquire them.[1]

This general division gives us an idea of what Ibn Khaldun considers as the subject of the science of human community. This division reveals a great deal of precision and ability, particularly when we review all the matters dealt with in his Prolegomena and see how the subject extends and opens to many ramifications, and how Ibn Khaldun arranges the links of his research in a connected, compact chain which proves the superiority of his thought, his originality and the force of his argument.

In this treatise we do not propose to analyse and criticise the philosophy and social theories of Ibn Khaldun. This is a task too vast for this treatise, but we shall try to narrate briefly the contents of his Prolegomena, and to consider some of his social theories.

Ibn Khaldun opens his Prolegomena inquiring into the value of history and its kinds, and the errors into which the historians fall in recording annals and events, whether dictated by purpose and partiality or inadvertently and from ignorance of the laws of sociology and the conditions of society, want of precision and investigation in estimating the possible and the impossible. He then gives several examples which he discusses and tries to point out the errors in them. This discussion, however, is

1. *The Prolegomena*, p. 34.

sometimes weak and partial. As for weakness, it is evident, for instance, from the reasons he gives to contradict the story of Al-Abbassa, Al-Rashid's sister, with Jafar al-Barmaki, and his defence of Al-Rashid's character and afterwards his defence of the character of Al-Mamun.[1] As for partiality, it is evident, for instance, from his statements about the lineage of the Obaydi (Fatimide) Caliphs, the lineage of the Idrisides in Morocco, and his attempt to refute the attacks on their lineage.[2] We have seen that Ibn Khaldun's life, as a statesman, serving various states and courts, makes him sometimes submit to influences of doctrine and passion. Most of his statements in this chapter are new and interesting, and much of his blame to the previous chroniclers and historians is strong and severe. He then goes on to point out the necessity of ascertaining facts and events in accordance with this law which is formed, in his opinion, by the study of sociology, or the science of human community, as we have seen. After this long critical preface Ibn Khaldun speaks of the science the subject of which he discovered. He begins in accordance with the division he made, to speak of sociology in general, and explains the nature of society, the necessity for it and how it varies according to the climate, how it is affected by changes of weather in hot, cold and temperate zones, the effect of atmosphere on the character, colour and conditions of men and, in the

1. *The Prelegomena*, pp. 12, 14 16 and 17. 2. *Ibid.*, pp. 17-20.

meantime, speaks of the geography of the world as it was known in his age, that is to say, the geography of the seven zones. There is nothing original or new in this chapter. In the second chapter Ibn Khaldun deals with different kinds of nomadic society, and speaks at great length of Bedouin society and its characteristics and compares it with urban society. Here we find one of the new social theories propounded by the historian. He speaks of what he calls *Al-Asabiyah* العصبية (vitality of state or dynasty) that is to say, the power and influence of the tribe or family, based, as he considers, on family and similarities. This *Asabiyah* is the origin of power and authority, or the state in nomadic society. This power belongs to those who enjoy the *Asabiyah*, and the nobility of lineage which is the origin of *Asabiyah* and then the power extends, in his opinion, to four generations. It may extend to five or six, but in a state of decline and weakness. *Asabiyah*, and consequently power, comes to an end with the dissolution of noble lineage and goes to another tribe or family which enjoys the privilege of number and force, and so on. The object of *Asabiyah* is sovereignty.[1] Here Ibn Khaldun speaks of the characteristics of sovereignty, the difference of its kinds and extent in accordance with the nations where it rises, the effect of conquest on the conquered nations, who are generally fond of imitating the conqueror.

1. See the explanation of Ibn Khaldun of his theory on *Asabiyah* and its characteristics and evolution in the *Prolegomena*, pp. 108-17.

Ibn Khaldun then speaks of the Arabs. His statements on this subject are interesting notwithstanding their severity and partiality. In his opinion the Arabs are a savage nation whose conquests are made for pillage and devastation, and they succeed only in easy plains and do not dare to cross mountains or plateaus owing to their difficult nature. Whenever they conquer a country it will soon become desolate because their nomadic nature, their disobedience and want of discipline are contrary to organised society; also because they are fond of destruction and pillage. They demolish buildings and rob all sorts of property and injure business and trade and are of all nations the least adapted to the requirements of sovereignty, because in their nomadic nature and rough character they are more fond of independence and liberty and submit to no authority or discipline, while the establishment of sovereignty requires discipline, submission and obedience.[1] Ibn Khaldun goes on to attack the Arabs in other parts of his Prolegomena. He tells us that the buildings raised by the Arabs soon fall into ruins, and that the Arabs are the least disposed to engage in trade, that they are not fit for learning, and that most of the scholars in the Muslim states were non-Arabs.[2] Although Ibn Khaldun in this campaign presents many proofs and makes right observations, yet his judgment on the Arabs is exaggerated and many of his opinions lack arguments. There is not

1. *The Prolegomena*, pp. 125-28. 2. *Ibid.*, pp. 300, 337 and 471.

much space here to discuss and refute his opinions, yet we must say with regard to the Arab conquests that it was the Arabs who invaded the valleys of Syria, the plateaus of Anatolia and Armenia and penetrated beyond Persia ; they also invaded North Africa as far as Morocco and Spain, and crossed the Pyrenees into France. All these countries are rugged with no plains easy to invade ; they were all conquered by the Arabs in less than a century and in a torrent of brilliant victories. Also the Arabs did not devastate countries ; on the contrary, they established flourishing states and societies. To refute the theory of Ibn Khaldun with regard to the characteristics of the Arab conquests, it would be enough to cite the rise of the Omayyad Caliphate in the east and of the Muslim state in Spain. We may understand the reason of this service condemnation of the Arabs by Ibn Khaldun when we remember that, although claiming to be of Arab origin, he belongs, in fact, to that Berber race whose country the Arabs conquered and on which they imposed their own religion and language, and forced it, after a long struggle and revolution, to be absorbed by the Muslim block and to submit reluctantly to the rule of the Arabs in Africa and Spain until the opportunity came for its rise and liberation. The antagonism between the Arabs and the Berbers in Africa and Spain is well known in the history of Islam, the Berbers having inherited their hatred of the Arabs long before. Ibn Khaldun was born and

bred in this Berber society, burning with its feelings, traditions and memories. His family lived in it a hundred years before and enjoyed the patronage and favours of the Berber Almohades. It is not strange, therefore, to see Ibn Khaldun condemning the Arabs in this most severe and cruel manner.

On the other hand we must point out that Ibn Khaldun is inspired here with two motives, scientific and the national. He severely attacks the Arabs to whom he claims to belong and tries to support his views with historical proofs and examples; his arguments here reveal a scientific disposition free from the chains of inherited traditions. He seems to be inspired with a strong national feeling; he speaks with the tongue of his Berber fatherland which the Arabs invaded and ruled for generations and imposed on it their religious and political sovereignty and, for ages, fought for its liberty and independence.

In the third chapter Ibn Khaldun speaks of the state and sovereignty. The state, according to him, comes into existence through tribal foree and *Asabiyah,* as already said, and it has peculiar characteristics and forms which vary according to those who control it. Religious doctrine too has its effects on strengthening the state, but such doctrine cannot also be upheld without *Asabiyah.* Dissension weakens the state and hastens its downfall. Sovereignty, like the state, has qualities the chief characteristics of which are: monopolising glory, luxury,

comfort and tranquillity—characteristics which, when rooted, bring the state to old age and then to downfall. The state, like men, also has a natural age, and Ibn Khaldun estimates the life of the state from its rise to youth, old age and downfall, generally with three generations, a generation being estimated at forty years. Thus the life of the state does not generally exceed one hundred and twenty years, except in rare cases.[1] This theory agrees with his theory on lineage of which we spoke in dealing with the *Asabiyah*. Here Ibn Khaldun reaches the summit of creativeness and originality, and his social theories and analyses of society appear at the zenith of their force and brilliance. In our opinion this chapter is the best of all in the Prolegomena, the strongest in exposition and argument, and the most convincing in revealing the abilities of his sound and distinguished spirit.

Ibn Khaldun discusses the subject of the state and sovereignty at great length. He then deals with the conversion of the state from nomadic to civilised condition, its various phases and the effect of the *Mawali* (slaves and the proteges on this evolution. He then goes on to speak of sovereignty and its varieties, the *Imama* and the Caliphate and the various opinions on them, the Sheite doctrines and the conversion of the Caliphate into sovereignty, the formalities of the Caliphate, such as those of accession and choice of a crown-prince, etc., its titles,

1. *The Prolegomena*, pp. 142-43.

religious posts, which are the courts, justice and the mint; then of monarchy and its institutions, such as the cabinet posts, government offices, the collection of taxes, correspondence, the police, the command of the fleets, monarchical traditions and manifestations, wars and their methods, dues and the trade systems He concludes this chapter by speaking of injustice which leads to the dissolution of the state and the destruction of civilisation. His statements on this subject are strong and very interesting.

Next to the subject of the state comes the subject of the countries and cities, the origin of towns, their characteristics and varied conditions, such as fertility and prosperity, or aridity and poverty, the effects of which extend far beyond the countries to which these cities belong. Then the disposition of the Bedouins as regards the towns, and the dependence of the extent of civilisation in the countries, on the conditions of the state, civilisation being the ultimate object of society and the end of its life, that it finally leads to corruption, the difference between countries in crops, industries and languages This is the subject of the fourth chapter of the Prolegomena.

In the fifth chapter Ibn Khaldun speaks of livelihood and the means to earn it, and to amassing of wealth. He then speaks of commerce, supply and demand, monopoly, prices, etc , and of trades, their branches and conditions in a general way, and devotes a special chapter to each of the principal

trades, such as agriculture, building, weaving, midwifery and medicine.

He dedicates the sixth chapter to the sciences and education. Learning, according to him, is one of the characteristics of civilisation; it grows and flourishes where civilisation is established. He then speaks of the different kinds of religious and social sciences (divine and human) with delightful long chapters on visions, magic, the secrets of letters (cipher), alchemy, spiritism, the occult sciences and clairvoyance, all of which, in his opinion, are the branches of science. He then condemns philosophy and the philosophers because he considers philosophy a useless branch of knowledge and a danger to religion and creed, and discusses and refutes some of the philosophical principles. He then goes on to speak of education and its systems and the characteristics of the scholars, and states that in Islam most of them were non-Arabs. He concludes with a chapter on philology, rhetoric, prose poetry and its forms then in use.

CHAPTER II

The Science of Politics and Monarchical Institutions before Ibn Khaldun.

Ibn Khaldun founder of sociology. Politics and monarchical institutions before him *Kitab al-Sultan* by Ibn Kutayba The social theories of Al-Farabi The statements of *Ikkwan al-Safa* on politics and their divisions. What Ibn Khaldun learned from all this. Development of the science of politics *Al-Akkam al-Sultaniyah wa Siyosat al-Mulk* by Abul Hassan al-Mawardi. *Siraj al-Muluk* by Abu Bakr al-Turtushi, Ibn Khaldun's statements on Turtushi's book Al-Ghazali's treatise on monarchical politics *Al-Minhaj al-Masluk. Al-Ada-al-Sultaniyah* by Ibnal-Tiqtaqa. Its subject and critical spirit. Ibn Khaldun's originality.

THESE are the contents of this famous Prolegomena in which Ibn Khaldun explains his new science *Al-Umran* (Sociology) and which paves the way for reading and understanding history. This Prolegomena is the first book of his general history, but, as we have seen, it is a voluminous, independent unit distinguished by the excellence of its originality, vast scope, new subjects and profound studies. If this new study, which Ibn Khaldun treats with great detail, skill and precision, commands our admiration and astonishment, it urges us to inquire, at the same time, about the real contribution of Ibn Khaldun to this splendid production. Has he the merits of founding this science, or has he only the merit of developing a study dealt with before? Ibn Khaldun tells us that his science is entirely new and it was inspired to him.[1] Perhaps

1. *The Prolegomena*, p. 33.

he hardly knows what this science exactly is. How much truth is there in this statement? We have tried to discover the sources consulted by Ibn Khaldun among the works of the previous Muslim thinkers, which touch his subject or approach it, and to ascertain, by the study of these works, what the historian-philosopher learned from his predecessors. After long research we were convinced that Ibn Khaldun is the master of his subject, and has the credit of being the first to found this new science which he calls sociology or the science of human society. It is true there are subjects dealt with by Ibn Khaldun which were dealt with before, and studies which touch some of the subjects of his science. But, as we shall see, they are all restricted studies of certain small points of that vast science which Ibn Khaldun deals with in such detail, in a closely connected series, rich in arguments. All that his predecessors left on the subject are mere short references scattered here and there not arranged in a particular order and cannot, alone, be considered the foundation of this distinguished social study. We propose to deal with these previous studies, to some of which Ibn Khaldun refers, to see by material comparison to what height this superior spirit rises in the sphere of originality and invention.

We have not found, before Ibn Khaldun, a Muslim thinker who makes of society, its formation and characteristics, a subject of study and reflection. But we find some Muslim thinkers who treated,

since the third century A.H., the subject of politics and monarchy as a special science or branch of literature. In that age politics were understood in a very limited sense—explanation of the qualities which should be possessed by the Sultan (Monarch), the faults from which he should befree in order to be a capable ruler. As for monarchy, it is treated from the point of view of the conditions which should be legally found in the *Imam* or the Sultan, and those qualities which render him unfit to rule, then the monarchical functions, such as posts of ministers, emirate, and the various departments (*diwans*). The oldest we found on the subject are the statements of Ibn Kutayba al-Dinawari[1] in his book *Uyun al-Akhbar* in which he devotes a special chapter entitled "Kitab al-Sultan" the Book of the Sultan) on the qualities which the Sultan should possess, the formalities of his company, treatment and consultation, and his duties towards officials and governors.[2] In his statements Ibn Kutayba relies on a collection of sayings and maxims, many of which are attributed to Persian and Indian sages. His statements take the form more of counsels than a critical exposition. In the early part of the fourth century A.H. we find a Muslim philosopher, Abu Nasr al-Farabi,[3] who refers, in his studies, to the subject of society in a philosophical manner. He

1. Died in 276 A.H. (889 A.H.)
2. See this chapter in *Uynn al-Akhbar* (Cairo Library edition), Vol. I, pp. 1-107.
3. Died in 349 A.H. (950 A.D.). He is known to the Europeans as Alfarabius.

speaks in his book *Mabadi Ara ahl al-Madina al-Fadila* (the Principles of the Community of the Ideal Town) of the need of man for society and co-operation, on the origin of villages and towns, on the qualities of the head of the ideal town (Sultan), that which is not compatible with it, the difference between the community of the ideal towns and the corrupted towns, then on trades and their different kinds[1]—all this he deals with in a philosophical and very concise manner

In the middle of the fourth century appeared the philosophical tracts entitled *Rasayil Ikhwan al-Safa* (Tracts of the Brothers of Sincerity), with brief references and passages on some political and social subjects. The *Ikhwan al-Safa* consider politics an independent science and divide it into five sections; the prophetical, monarchical, public, private and personal politics The first concerns with laying down the sacred principles and laws, and purifying souls from wicked creeds and opinions. As for the monarchical politics, they are : "The task of preserving the *sharia* (laws) of the nation, reviving the *sanna* (prophetical traditions) among the community by urging to do good and forbidding evil ; this object can be realised by repressing crimes, enforcing the laws laid down by the founder of the *sharia* (the Prophet), quelling injustice, repressing enemies and criminals, and rewarding good men " With regard to the public politics which is the exercising authority

1. *Kitab al-Madina al-Fadila* (Leyden). pp. 53, 59 and 67.

over communities, such as that of princes on countries and towns, or that of army commanders on the troops, it is defined as "knowing the classes of subordinates, their conditions, lineage, trades, creeds, character, noting heir classes and managing their affairs, etc." With regard to private politics it is every man's knowledge respecting management of his house and living. As for personal politics it is that every man should know himself and his character.[1] The *Ikhwan al-Safa* further speak of the object of monarchy and the kinds of sovereignty, of the post of *Imam*, its conditions and laws.[2] They speak of sciences, which they divide into three main branche: mathematics, man-made jurisprudence and realistic philosophy, each branch having many subdivisions and sub-branches. Literature of all kinds falls under the first division, the sciences of religion, the Quran and the *sunna* fall under the second, and logic, physics and theology fall under the third. As for politics they come under theology.[3] The *Ikhwan al-Safa* also speak of the division of trades and the qualities they need. They speak in a special chapter of the effect of geographical environment on national character.[4] All this is dealt with in a scientific and philosophical style, excellent in expression and argument.

We must pause here a little. We find that some of the subjects dealt with by Ibn Khaldun in his Pro-

1. *Rasayil Ikhwan al-Safa* (Cairo), Vol. ii, pp. 208-09.
2. *Ibid.*, Vol. i, p 23, Vol vi, pp. 30, 181, *et seq.*
3. *Ibid.*, p. 202, *et seq.*
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 232-35.

legomena are also dealt with by Al-Farabi and *Ikhwan al-Safa*. For instance, Al-Farabi'sstatements about the need of man for society, and the origin of villages and towns, and the statements of *Ikhwan al-Safa* about the divisions of sciences and trades, and the effect of geographical and physical environments on character. As we have seen Ibn Khaldun dealt with all these questions[1] and made them the subject of his science. But by comparison we find that Ibn Khaldun agrees on these subjects with Al-Farabi and *Ikhwan al-Safa* only in the head-lines, and while Al-Farabi and *Ikhwan al-Safa* deal with them in a purely philosophic and scientific manner, Ibn Khaldun deals with them from the social point of view, and expounds them in a purely practical manner, and follows a new method in argument. Here also he is not lacking independence and originality.

We then find that study which has been commonly called politics take its place and become a special literature, dealt with at one time from a purely legal point of view, and at another from an ethico-philosophical one. One of the best known books which deal with its legal side is *Kitab al-Ahkam al-Sultaniyah* (the Book of the Sultanic Laws) by Abul Hassan al Mawardi, who died in 450 A.H. (1058 A.D.) It is one of the most notable and valuable works on the subject. In this book the

1. See the Prolegomena on the necessity of human society, p 34; the rise of towns and cities, p 286, *et seq*; the division of sciences, p, 358, *et seq*; the division of trade, p. 318, *et seq*; and the effect of climate on human character, pp. 72-73.

author deals at great length with the office of the *Imam* and its conditions, the qualities he should possess and those which disqualify him for the office, and the duties of the nation towards him. He then deals with the Vizierate (ministry)and itskinds, Emirate and its kinds, and the exercise of justice and its conditions, booty, the spoils, the tribute, the *kharaj* (land-tax) and their provisions, feudalism, *diwans* (government departments) and the penal laws—all this is dealt with from a legal point of view according to the *Shafei* doctrine. Al-Mawardi has also another treatise on the Vizierate and the monarchical policy, in which he speaks at great length of the post of the minister and the qualifications required for it. He then speaks of the minister, his competence, duties and rights towards the Sultan, the duties of the Sultan towards him and the different kinds of ministries and the relations of the minister with the Sultan. This study of Al-Mawardi is ethico-philosophical embodying many maxims and traditional sayings.

In *Siraj al-Muluk* of the Andalusian, Abu Bakr al-Turtushi, who died in 520 A H. (1126 A.D.), the study advances a little further. He deals with his subject from the ethico-philosophical point of view. He deals with certain subjects not treated by his predecessors, and speaks of the qualities the Sultan should have and those which lead to the downfall of monarchy. He then speaks of the qualities of the Sultan separately, and his vices also separately,

then of the duties of the Sultan to his soldiers and subjects, his duties towards the public funds and how to spend them, of the tribute and the conditions required by the governors, of *diwans*, of injustice and its evil effects, of wars, their laws and management. Al-Turtushi's work is the largest of its kind, but the religious colour prevails in its style and it takes, generally, the form of preaching, embodying many *hadith*, maxims and famous sayings. Al-Turtushi tells us in his preface that "no previous writer dealt with these subjects". But we find that more than one oriental writer who preceded Al-Turtushi wrote on these subjects, although he is distinguished by his detailed exposition, and by dealing with some entirely new subjects.

Ibn Khaldun particularly speaks of Al-Turtushi's book among the works dealing with his subject. He tells us that in the book on politics, attributed to Aristotle, there is an interesting part on the subject of his science, but it is incomplete and does not give sufficient argument. Likewise, in Ibn al-Mukaffa's work and the political passages which he gives in the course of his tracts, many of the points touching his science are dealt with, but not in the manner he adopts; Ibn al-Mukaffa treating them in a sort of rhetorical essays. But Ibn Khaldun tells us plainly that Al-Turtushi in his book *Siraj al-Muluk*, touched subjects approaching his own, and divided them into chapters almost similar to those of his book, but he did not realise the desired object and did not treat

the subject rightly, or deal with its points thoroughly, nor did he give satisfactory arguments; he merely put the problem and cited many traditional sayings, indeed, he turned round the subject, but did not seize it nor did he succeed in his enterprise.[1] The fact is that Ibn Khaldun dealt with some of the subjects treated by Al-Turtushi, such as the *diwans* (government offices), the methods of warfare, and the consequences of injustice, but in exposition and argument he adopted a difficult method, and in Al-Turtushi's book we see no trace of the new social doctrine which dominates the study of Ibn Khaldun from the beginning to the end.

We have two other treatises on this subject—we mean the monarchical politics. The first is *Al-Tibr al-Masbuk fi Nasayih al-Muluk*, attributed to Abu Hamid al-Ghazali who died in 505 A.H. (1112 A.D.). This book was written in the Persian language for Sultan Muhammad ibn Malik Shah, and is a collection of counsels on the qualities with which the Sultan should be adorned, embodying many sermons and old stories.[2] The second is entitled *Al-Manhaj al-Masluk fi Siyasat al-Muluk* written by Abd al-Rahman ibn Abdulla for Sultan Salah al-Din (about the end of the sixth century A.H.) on the same subject, that is to say, the qualities of the Sultan, containing a legal exposition about war, spoils, and some old sermons and stories.

1. *The Prolegomena*, p. 33.
2. This treatise appeared in the margin of *Siraj al-Muluk* (Cairo edition).

9

We further have another book distinguished by comprehensiveness of its subject and orignality in exposition. This is *Al-Fakhri fil Adab al-Sultaniyah wal dual al-Islamiyah* by Muhammad ibn Ali ibn Tabatiba, known by the name of Al-Tiqtaqa, who lived, as we deduce from his book, about the end of the seventh century and the beginning of the eighth A.H., after the fall of the Abbaside Caliphate. He wrote this book about the end of 701 A.H. (1302 A.D.) in the city of Mosul for its Emir, Isa ibn Ibrahim.[1] In his book Ibn al-Tiqtaqa devotes a large chapter to sultanic matters and monarchical politics[2] but he deals with his subject in a different form. He tells us in his preface that he does not propose to speak of the origin of monarchy, its essence and its division into religious and temporal authorities, as the Caliphate, Sultanate, Emirate and governorship, what was in this compatible with the *sharia* (law) and what was not, the doctrines of thinkers on the *Imama*; he merely intends to study the question of politics and rules which could be adopted in the existing circumstances, and in managing the affairs of people, organising the defence of the country, and in reforming morals and mode of life.[3] In this chapter Ibn al-Tiqtaqa first speaks of the qualities the ideal king should have and those he should not have, then of the rights of the king towards the subjects, principally obedience, and deals at great

1. See the author's preface in *Greifswald* edition, published by the orientalist Ahlwardt in 1858, and the publisher's preface in German, pp 14-15. 2. *Al-Fakhri*, pp. 19-88. 3. *Ibid.*, p. 19.

length with the advantages and manners of obedience in the Omayyad and Abbaside Caliphates and how its loss was one of the strongest factors in the decay and downfall of the Abbaside Caliphate, and supports his theory with historical events and facts.[1] He then speaks of the rights of the subjects towards the king and the kinds of politics the king ought to follow towards the various classes, as well as penalties, their proportion and circumstances, the danger to both the king and the state of being plunged in pleasure. In the course of his statements he quotes some of the counsels of the Greek and Persian sages. But he is less interested in exposing theoretical principles than in their application to the events of history, particularly that of the Muslim dynasties. He is distinguished in exposing and applying them by a strong critical tendency rarely found in the works of his predecessors. He is also distinguished by his excellent arguments and the application of theories to facts. We can even say that the preliminary chapter to the history of Muslim dynasties was a new achievement of historical criticism and in the study of the state from the social point of view; and there is no doubt that it comes under the subjects of that vast social study from which Ibn Khaldun evolved his science and social doctrine. It seems, however, that Ibn Khaldun had no knowledge of this work which deals with certain parts of his subject. The book was a recent work and, its circula-

1. *Al-Fakhri*, pp. 35-36.

tion being limited to the East, had not reached North Africa. Moreover, the subject dealt with by Ibn al-Tiqtaqa is too restricted as compared with the studies of Ibn Khaldun, and if both of them understood history in an analytical manner, Ibn Khaldun greatly surpasses his predecessor by the vastness of the scope of his work and adopts in his study another course which maintains all its originality and force.

We have reviewed all that the Muslim thinkers have written on the subject of the state, and the monarchical, civil and social politics before the age of Ibn Khaldun, and proved by copious comparison that all this legacy neither supplied nor inspired Ibn Khaldun with the subject of his science. Although it refers here and there to certain points dealt with by Ibn Khaldun, yet we can affirm with Ibn Khaldun that the science he calls *Al-Umran, i.e.*, sociology or the science of human community, is a science which did not exist before him in Muslim thought; indeed it did not exist even in the ancient thought, with the exception of some of the writings of Greek philosophers about the institutions of state and society, particularly Aristotle. If, therefore, Ibn Khaldun had profited by a part of the legacy of the past, it would be from this ancient legacy. It seems that Ibn Khaldun was acquainted with certain sides of the philosophy of Aristotle, as is evident from his reference to the "politics" of Aristotle, and the

commentary of Ibn Rushd (Averoes) on Aristotle.[1] There is no doubt, however, that this benefit was of little importance in forming his views on history or his social philosophy.

As we have already said Ibn Khaldun was the master of his subject and the founder of his science. He rightly tells us that his science was new, and that it is not the same as the science of civil politics dealt with previously by his predecessors; in fact, totally not science, independent and not dealt with before by any previous thinker, or not dealt with such originality, extension and profoundness.

We shall see that this science, discovered by Ibn Khaldun, assumes, from the point of view of its material and subject, its place among our modern sciences, in sociology, philosophy of history, organisation and political economy.

We shall point out in another chapter how modern criticism highly appreciates the legacy of Ibn Khaldun, and considers him as the founder of modern sociology.

1. *The Prolegomena*, p. 33. Ibn Khaldun made short studies on the works of Ibn Rushd, but they have not come down to us

CHAPTER III

Kitab al-Ibar and al-Taarif

Ibn Khaldun's historical work. Revision of his history and additions to its contents. His praise of the qualities of the Berbers. His method and style. *Kitab al-Taarif*, or the autobiography of Ibn Khaldun. The contents of *Al-Taarif* Ibn Khaldun's frankness in revealing many of his characteristics. His strong qualities. The romantic side of his autobiography. Has Ibn Khaldun written other works?

I

THIS first book in which Ibn Khaldun expounds his theories on history and sociology, and which alone fills a large volume, is only an introduction to his general history.

Ibn Khaldun calls his historical work: *Kitab al-Ibar, wa Diwan al-Mubtada wal Khabar, fi Ayyam al-Arabi wal Ajami wal Barbar, wa man Asrahum min zawi al-Sultan al-Akbar.*

كتاب العبر و ديوان المبتدا والخبر فى اياما العرب
والعجم والبربر ومن عاصرهم من ذوى السلطان الاكبر

He divides it into the following three large books:

I. Society and its inherent phenomena, such as sovereignty, authority, earning one's livelihood, trades, sciences, and causes and reasons appertaining to them. This is the book, entitled the "Prolegomena," so frequently referred to by us.

II. History of the Arabs, their generations and

dynasties from the creation to the author's time, containing the annals of some of the contemporary nations and great men and their dynasties, such as the Pontians, the Syrians, the Persians, the Jews, the Copts, the Greeks, the Romans, the Turks and the Franks.

III. The history of the Berbers and tribes appertaining to them, such as the Zanata, their origin and generations, and their kingdom and dynasties in North Africa.

Ibn Khaldun's work fills seven large volumes, the first comprising the first book, which deals with *Al-Umran* or Sociology, being the Prolegomena. The historical work begins with the second volume; and the second book which deals with the history of the Arabs and their generations, and the histories of the ancient nations, the Turks and the Franks up to the eighth century A.H. (14th A.D.) fills four volumes, from the second to the fifth. The third book, which deals with the history of the Berbers up to the days of the author, fills the sixth and seventh volumes. Ibn Khaldun closes his work by speaking of himself in several long chapters, as we shall explain.

Like most of the Muslim historians Ibn Khaldun begins with the origin of the creation and the racial lineage of the various nations. A large part of his statement is mere repetition of old religious legends given in the Muslim chronicles quoted from the Bible and Hersius, but he expresses his doubt with

regard to many of them. He then gives us a full programme of his history.[1] He deals with the pre-Islamic Arabs, the Jews, the Greeks, the Romans and the Persians; most of his narrative on the Greeks and the Romans is copied from Ibn al-Amid (Al-Makin).

His narrative of the advent of Islam, the life of the Prophet and the age of the first four Caliphs (Al-Rashidin) is given in a special supplement to the second volume. From the third volume he begins the history of Muslim states and speaks of the Omayyad Caliphate, then of the Abbaside Caliphate at great length; the history of the two Caliphates filling the third volume. The fourth volume contains the history of the Fatimides, the Carmathians and the history of the Moors in Spain from its conquest to the beginning of the Banual-Ahmardynasty, and the histories of the Banu Boweh (Bueds) and Banu Subaktukin. The fifth volume gives at great length the history of the Suljuk Turks and the history of the Crusades, as well as the history of the Mameluke dynasties in Egypt up to the end of the eighth century A.H Ibn Khaldun relies in this section—that is to say the history of the Arabs and the Muslim dynasties—on the legacy of his predecessors such as Ibn Hisham, al-Waqidi, Al-Baladhuri, Ibn Abd il-Hakam, Al-Tabari, Al-Masudi, Ibn al-Athir and others. The third book, or the sixth volume, contains the history of the Berbers. Ibn

1. *Kitab al-Ibar*, Vol. ii, pp. 16-17.

Khaldun says that the history of the Berbers was his principal object in writing his historical work. In the Prolegomena he says: "I give in this book all I could learn of this Berber country, either directly or indirectly, as my object is to write only the history of North Africa, the condition of its generations and nations, as well as its kingdoms, for I am not aware of the conditions of the East and its nations and the current histories are not sufficient to help me in realising my object in a proper way."[1] This statement by Ibn Khaldun has a special value. Some critics attacked his history and accused him of incapacity and want of sufficient knowledge and precision in what he wrote about the East; we have already quoted Al-Hafiz ibn Hajar and others on the subject. The fact is that the chapter relating to the Berbers in his *Kitab al-Ibar* is, next to the Prolegomena, the most notable and original, the strongest in exposition and precision, giving strange narratives and facts on the conditions of those Berbernationsandtribes which escaped allhistorians before or after Ibn Khaldun. This is not strange considering that Ibn Khaldun is, by the nature of his origin and life, his services to the various Berber states and courts, and his profound study of their conditions, the best master of the subject.

In his third book Ibn Khaldun speaks of the Arabs by adoption (Al-Mustariba who are the remnantsoftheArabMuslimdynastiesin Mauritania,

1. *The Prolegomena*, p. 27.

of the history of the Berbers, and the noted Berber tribes and branches, such as the Zanata, Maghrawa, Lawata, Masmuda, Al-Baranis, Kitama and Sanhaja from the earliest times to his age. He gives us the origin of the Berbers, their conditions and creed before the Muslim conquest, many reports and facts being unknown before. He relates concisely the history of the Almoravides and Almohades; and then relates at great length the history of the Berber dynasties close to his age or contemporaneous to him. As Ibn Khaldun was in contact with most of these contemporary dynasties in whose vicissitudes he played great roles, he refers in many places to his personal attitudes and his dealings with them.[1] The history of the Berbers fills the sixth volume and most of the seventh of the *Kitab al-Ibar*, as known to us. But it is evident from the annals of the contemporary dynasties that Ibn Khaldun later revised what he had written on this subject and afterwards made many additions. We know that he completed writing the first copy of his history in Tunis in 783 A.H. before he emigrated to Egypt, and in the course of his statement about the history of Banu Hafs he says: "I proceeded with my narrative to the wresting of Tawzir from the hands of Ibn Yamlul while I was in Tunis. I then sailed in the middle of 784 A.H. to the East to accomplish the pilgrimage, and disembarked at Alexandria whence I went to Cairo, and the news

1. See examples of this in Vol. vi, pp. 377, 379 and Vol. vii, pp. 133, 305, 329, 334 and 377.

of North Africa reached us through those who arrived from there."[1] Tawzir was wrested in 783 A.H.[2] While in Cairo Ibn Khaldun revised and added to his history. He reached in his history of the Berber dynasties up to 790, 791 and 793 and sometimes to 796 A.H.[3] He dealt with the annals of the Egyptian and the Turkish dynasties up to 793, 795, 796 and 797 A.H,[4] As for the annals of Andalusia he dealt with them up to 794 A H.[5] All these are additions and new chapters annexed to the original work during his sojourn in Egypt, and the copy which reached us and is now current is, undoubtedly, one of the most complete.

In this part dealing with the history of the Berbers Ibn Khaldun devotes a special chapter to speak of their qualities and "of their humane virtues and noble characteristics in the past and in the present time." He says in an enthusiastic tone: "As for their humane virtues, their vying in one another in noble qualities, their generous disposition which raise a nation to the rank of honour, and evokes praise from people; their appreciation of neighbourhood, protection of guests, keeping their promises and obligations, patience in adversity, refusal to submit to humiliation or tyranny, facing misfortunes, conquering authority and sacrificing their lives in the cause of religion, these are tradi-

1. *Kitab al-Ibar*, Vol. vi, p. 396. 2. *Ibid.*, p. 395.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 399, 403 and 429; Vol. vii, pp. 145-147, 218-219.
4. *Ibid.*, Vol. v, pp. 540-50, 561-63.
5. *Ibid.*, Vol. vi, p. 179.

tional qualities which, if recorded, would furnish good examples to those nations which follow them."[1] Ibn Khaldun has not written such a chapter on the qualities of any other nation; he thus reveals here a special sentiment and an evident pro-Berber attitude. This also explains his severity in attacking the Arabs who had invaded Africa and subdued it.

There are, however, other parts of Ibn Khaldun's work besides the history of the Berbers which have a special value, such as his account about the Muslim states in Sicily, the history of the Tawaif in Andalusia, the Christian states in Spain and the history of the Banu al-Ahmar dynasty in Granada. Dozy, the famous scholar, speaks of the value of the version of Ibn Khaldun on the history of the Christians in Spain, and says: "There is nothing in the Christian literature in the Middle Ages worthy of being compared with it, and no Christian historian wrote a version with such clearness and precision on any Muslim state."[2] In these parts Ibn Khaldun greatly excels all other Muslim historians in precision and verification of reports; this is probably due to the fact that he consulted some contemporary sources which have not come down to us. Modern research has taken great interest in Ibn Khaldun's narrative about the history of the Berbers, as well as in most of the other parts of his history, all of which have been translated into European languages as we shall see.

1. *Kitab al-Ibar*, Vol. vi, p. 103 *et seq.*
2. Dozy: *Recherches sur l'Histoire et la Litterature of d'Espagne au moyen age*, p. 96.

Ibn Khaldun concludes his book with several chapters acquainting us with himself and his life from birth up to his emigration to Egypt, and the events with which he was connected there till the beginning of 797 A.H. These chapters are called *Al-Taarif*.

In the arrangement of his book Ibn Khaldun adopted a new method. He divided it into books, then into chapters connected with one another, and gave the history of each state separately, from the beginning to the end, taking into consideration the points of contact between the different states. In this respect he greatly surpasses his predecessors. Most of the earlier great historical works by Muslims were written in the form of historical tables arranged according to years, and the events of each year given together in a disconnected and varied manner. But, instead of adopting this method, Ibn Khaldun restored to the system of connected chapters and dynasties, which is more precise, better exposed and more harmonious. He was not, however, the first Muslim historian to adopt this system: it was adopted since the third and fourth centuries by historians like Al-Waqidi, Al-Baladhuri, Ibn Abd il-Hakam al-Misri and Al-Masudi, who recorded history in connected chapters.[1] But he is distinguished from his predecessors for excellent arrangement and presentation, as well as for clearness,

1. See Al-Waqidi in his book *Futuh Misr wal Sham*, attributed to him; Al-Baladhuri in his book *Futuh al-Buldan*; Ibn Abd il-Hakam in his book *Futuh Misr wa Akhbariha*; and Al-Masudi in his book *Muruj al-Zahab*.

precision in the division of subjects and in making tables of contents.

Ibn Khaldun has a special style of exposition and expression. As his Prolegomena is distinguished for its new subjects, it is also distinguished for the brilliance of its literary style which is at the same time characterised by simplicity, force of expression, precision of argument and harmoy. If the Prolegomena is an excellent model of mature thinking and surpassing originality, in our opinion it is also a high model of clearness, rhetoric and attractive exposition, notwithstanding occasional weakness of style, queerness of expression as well as the use of unusual words due to his Berber origin, and the influence of the literature of North Africa and Andalusia.

Ibn Khaldun writes his history in the same strong, simple style, and rises in certain places to the summit of vigorous expression. But in many places he is too concise so that his statements are both obscure and ambiguous or somewhat weak and full of strange words. Yet he is always the master of his subject, distinguished for strong, excellent exposition.

II

Ibn Khaldun has left us his life written by himself. He is not the first Muslim writer and thinker to write an autobiography, many of them particularly the recorders of *hadith*, wrote their autobiographies. Some of these scholars and historians who wrote their autobiographies are: Yaqout al-Hamawi (*Mujam al-Udabba*), Lisan al-Din ibn al-Khatib, the contemporary and friend of Ibn Khaldun (*Al-Ihata fi Akhbar-i-Gharnata*), his contemporary Al-Hafiz ibn Hajar (*Raf al-Isr un Kudat Misr*), and Al-Suyuti (*Husn al-Muhadara*). But all of them have given us short biographies. Ibn Khaldun was the first Muslim thinker who consecrated for himself a long biography which filled a whole book, and who tells us frankly of many of his acts and affairs which he should not have revealed. Ibn Khaldun rightly considers himself one of the personalities of history whose life is worthy of recording. For about one-third of a century he was an outstanding personality in contemporary North African states, whose acts and influence affected their evolution and fate. His life is in fact a part of the history of these states which should not be overlooked.

Ibn Khaldun wrote his autobiography in several long chapters and made it a supplement to his historical work. These chapters are known by the name of *Al-Taarif* which is the title he gave to the first chapter—التعريف بابن خلدون مؤلف هذا الكتاب "Acquainting the reader with Ibn Khaldun, author of this book." It fills about one hundred large pages of the seventh volume of his history.[1] In *Al-Taarif* he tells us of his lineage, the history of his family since its arrival in Andalusia and settlement in Seville till its emigration to North Africa, the part

1. *Kitab al-Ibar*, Vol. vii, pp. 379-462.

its chiefs played in the events of Andalusia, the light posts they occupied and the influence they exercised till the days of Al-Tawaif. He then tells us of his youth, his early education, the books he read and the sciences he studied, and his *shaikhs* (professors), biographies of many of whom he gives. He then speaks of his public life since he occupied the post of secretary to Abu Ishaq, Sultan of Tunis, in 752 A.H., and tells us a great deal about his relations with the Emirs and states of North Africa, the various posts held by him at the courts of Tunis, Bougie, Tlemcen and Fez, and of the influence he exercised there, while he was still in the prime of his life, under thirty years of age. He also tells us about his arrest and banishment more than once; then of his emigration to Andalusia and his relations with the King of Granada and his Vizier Ibn al-Khatib, his mission to the King of Castille, his visit to Seville the first home of his family, and his disagreement with Ibn al-Khatib and the King of Granada when he returned to North Africa and entered the service of its Emirs and states till he was again obliged to return and settle in Tunis. For some time he lived in retirement and began to write his book till it was completed. He finally decided to close his adventurous political life in these disturbed courts, and therefore left Tunis for Egypt in 784 A.H.

He then tell us about his life in Egypt, his relation with the Sultan, his appointment to the

posts of professors and Maliki judge, the intrigues of his adversaries which ended with his removal from the post of judge, his journey to the holy land to perform the pilgrimage and his return to Cairo to devote his time to study and lecturing, and to resume a solitary and tranquil life.

Here Ibn Khaldun closes the chapter at *Al-Taarif* in the current copy we have. But the Egyptian Library possesses another copy of it which is more complete, entitled التعريف بابن خلدون ورحلته شرقاً و غرباً (Acquainting the reader with Ibn Khaldun and his journey to the East and the West), which has at the end a note that it was copied from the author's original copy.[1] There are in this copy several other chapters on the life of Ibn Khaldun in Egypt, in which he speaks at great length of the appointment to the posts of professor and judge, of his efforts to organise relation between the Sultan of Egypt and the Sultans of North Africa, of the internal events of Egypt at that time, of his journey to Syria on the suite of Al-Malik al-Nasir Faraj, of his audience with Timur, the Emperor of the Tartars, under the walls of Damascus, the conversations between them, and of the events of the Tartar conquest in that period, including many philosophical and social explanations and arguments of some political phenomena and events according to the method adopted in his Prolegomena. He then tells us of his return to Egypt to resume

1. This copy is conserved in the Egyptian Library under No. 109, M. History.

the post of judge more than once, and of his sufferings from the intrigues of his adversaries. Ibn Khaldun goes far in relating these events up to the end of the year 807 A.H., that is to say, only a few months before his death. These chapters fill about forty large folios in the aforesaid manuscript copy;[1] the whole copy fills one hundred and forty-one folios. There are in the first part which corresponds with the current copy of *Al-Taarif*, many additions which prove that Ibn Khaldun revised his autobiography during his sojourn in Egypt.

This *Al-Ṭaarif* which Ibn Khaldun has left us to speak of himself and the events of his life, is a masterpiece of Arabic literature. It is a strong, delightful portrait of that distinguished enterprising personality, painted with a great deal of liberty and frankness; indeed, in many places, it reveals to us the psychological characteristics of the author, although they are not always compatible with morally. We find pride, ostentation and egoism, as well as ambition, fickleness, fondness for intrigues and opportunism by all means; and lastly ingratitude. All these we notice clearly from time to time in the acts and attitudes of the historian as he himself relates them. But these bad qualities are not incompatible with the characteristics of a distinguished

1. These chapters cover pp. 107 to 149 in the manuscript copy. They are, as given by Ibn Khaldun: appointment as messenger of the Khanqahs (Sufi institutes); appointment as manager of the Beibers Khanqah and removal; the Nasiri conspiracy; efforts to conclude friendly relations and presents between the Kings of North Africa and Al Malik al Zahir: Sultan's departure to Syria to repulse the Tartars; audience wit hTimur, Sultan of the Moguls and Tartars.

personality; indeed, these are generally to be found in strong, vigorous persons; in other words, they are the elements of Machiavellism which occupy an important place among the doctrines of modern politics. At the same time they are coupled with many of the characteristic of genius. By the side of these we see audacity, intripedity, strength of character, firmness and endurance, as well as great intelligence, sagacity, foresight, the power of convincing and, lastly, captivating eloquence. All these excellent qualities we see in the acts and attitudes of Ibn Khaldun. In all this the historian speaks to us with frankness and simplicity worth of admiration.

There is also the charming romantic side, and those dangerous adventures which the historian encountered in his life and which the ordinary man does not meet with. He goes from one place to another, passes through the dangers of vengeance, imprisonment and pursuit, and spends his political life in constant fear. He accompanies the army and stands by the side of his patron in military actions, and accomplishes dangerous missions in the depths of valleys and deserts. In Damascus, when seventy years old, he goes through new adventures, descends from the towers of a closed city, tide with a rope, and proceeds with audacity to the conqueror's camp. In Egypt we see him alone fighting his numerous adversaries, and beating them more than once. Has not this sensational life its beauty

and charm? In reading his *Al-Taarif* we are reminded of that famous autobiography which Benvenuto Cellini[1] left us about his wonderful life. There is much similarity between the two biographies although of different kinds. Both of them are full of occasions of audacity, risk, confidence and frankness. If the biography of the Italian artist is considered in European literature an excellent model of autobiography, and a beautiful piece of charming exposition and delightful romance, *Al-Taarif* of Ibn Khaldun occupies such a place in our Arabic literature.

III

All that has come down to us of the legacy of Ibn Khaldun is his historical work, that is to say *Kitab al-Ibar* and *Al-Taarif.* But Ibn al-Khatib gives us in his biography of Ibn Khaldun, in his book *Al-Ihata fi Akhbar-i-Gharnata,* another list of the works of Ibn Khaldun. He tells us that "he wrote an excellent paraphrase of the *Burda,* summarised many of the books of Ibn Rushd (Averroes), made a good commentary on logic for the Sultan summarised *Al-Muhassal* of Fakhr al-Din al-Razi, wrote a book on arithmetic, began to write a paraphrase of my poem about the principles of *sharia* in an unsurpassed manner."[2] Ibn al-Khatib wrote this

1. Benvenuto Cellini (1500-1571) was a famous Italian painter, sculptor and jeweller. He had a strange life full of daring and adventure. He has left us his autobiography in a voluminous book, considered one of the masterpieces of the Renaissance.

2. *Nafh al-Tib* (Bulak), p. 419. Al-Makkari copies the whole of this biography of Ibn Khaldun (pp. 414-26).

biography many years before Ibn Khaldun wrote his historical work, and therefore did not mention it. None of these works or treatises has reached us; it seems, in fact, that they were not well known and therefore not spoken of in the contemporary Egyptian biographies. It also seems that they were not of much importance and therefore Ibn Khaldun himself did not speak of them in his *Taarif.*

CHAPTER IV

Ibn Khaldun and Modern Criticism.

The first hints of Western research on Ibn Khaldun. Early studies about him and his works The translation of the Prolegomena. Discovery of his theories and ideas. Von Kremer's study. Ibn Khaldun 'Kulturhistoriker.' Comments of Prof. Schmidt and de Boer. Ibn Khaldun philosopher and sociologist. Gumplowicz's analysis of his social theories Maunier on the Prolegomena. Ibn Khaldun's positive philosophy. His pessimism. Von Wesendonk on the application of his theories to Modern History. Ibn Khaldun the Economist. Prof. Schmidt on Ibn Khaldun—Historian, Philosopher and Sociologist.

WESTERN criticism has the highest opinion of the legacy of Ibn Khaldun. Western thought knew before Ibn Khaldun a great number of Muslim thinkers many of whom do not rise to his rank; it also knew before him many Muslim historians, not because they were more worthy of being studied, but because they appeared in the vigorous and flourishing ages of Islam, or because they treated subjects in which Western thought was interested.[1] But Ibn Khaldun appeared in an age when decay had crept into the power and domination of Islam, and Islamic thought had already declined. It was not the age worthy of study. The legacy of Ibn Khaldun remained thus in oblivion for centuries, both in the East and the West, hardly known to the first and totally ignored by the second. In 1697 the first European biogra-

1. The West knew historians such as Masudi, Abul Fida, Ibn al-Ibri, Ibn Khallikan and Ibn Arabshah long before Ibn Khaldun; some of their works were translated into Latin. The Histories of Ibn al-Ibri and Ibn Arabshah were published in England with their Arabic texts in the middle of the seventeenth century A.D.

phy of Ibn Khaldun appeared in D'Herbelot" *Bibliotheque Orientale.* It was, however, concise and full of errors. More than a century passed, before Western thought was interested in him. In 1806 the French orientalist, Sylvester de Sacy, published a biography of Ibn Khaldun, together with a translation of some passages of the Prolegomena, in his *Chrestomante Arabe,* and a few years later he published the translation of some other passages of the Prolegomena. In 1816 he again published a lengthy biography of Ibn Khaldun in his *Biographie Universelle,* together with an ample description of the Prolegomena. At the same time the Austrian orientalist, Von Hammer-Purgstall, published a treatise entitled *Uber den Verfall des Islams nach den ersten drey Jahrhunderten der Hidschrat* in 1812 (on the Decline of Islam after the first three centuries of the Hijira), in which he particularly referred to some of Ibn Khaldun's theories on the decline of states, and described him as "the Montesquieu of the Arabs." Afterwards he published a German translation of some passages of the Prolegomena, and later a description of some parts of the Prolegomena in the *Journal Asiatique* (1822). On the other hand De Sacy and some of his colleagues continued to publish translation of parts of the Prolegomena, and the History of Ibn Khaldun. In the meanwhile Western research was more and more interested in Ibn Khaldun and his works, and was admiring more and more the vigour and originality of his thought.

At last Quatremere published, in 1858, the complete Arabic text of the Prolegomena, and some years later, De Sacy published its French translation *in extenso*. Ibn Khaldun appeared then to Western thought in his most astounding originality, and the value of his legacy, forgotten for centuries, came to be much appreciated.

From the middle of the nineteenth century European scholars began to study Ibn Khaldun and his social theories with special interest. That the West was acquainted with the legacy of Ibn Khaldun was a true scientific discovery, and the most astounding of it was that the West found in the legacy of the Muslim thinker many philosophical, social and economical theories, which Europe came to know only long after Ibn Khaldun. It was thus that Western scholars discovered, with astonishment and admiration, that Ibn Khaldun had studied many of those theories which were treated by Machiavelli a century later, and by Vico, Montesquieu, Adam Smith and Auguste Comte,[1] some three or four centuries later. It was believed that Western research was the first to discover the philosophy of history and principles of sociology and political economy, but it was then found that Ibn Khaldun had long preceded the West, and had treated those

1. Machiavelli, an Italian historian and politician (1469-1527); Vico, and Italian historian and philosopher (1698-1744); Montesquieu, a French philosopher and sociologist (1669-1755); Adam Smith, an English economist (1723-1790); and Auguste Comte, a French philosopher. The last named was the founder of the principles of positive philosophy (1798-1857).

subjects in his Prolegomena, and expounded may of their principles with intelligence and vigour. Thus Western research, after discovering and studying Ibn Khaldun, places his legacy most highly, considers him a philosopher, historian of civilisation, a scholar of sociology and political economy, and moreover acknowledges him to be the first to treat these subjects.

I

Western research was interested in the philosophical side of history as expounded by Ibn Khaldun. But the social side, however, soon after began to draw the attention of sociologists, and to outweigh all other sides of his thought. Since the later part of the nineteenth century the social theories of Ibn Khaldun occupy an important place in contemporary criticism, and even today they afford a subject of study and comparative analysis for many social critics.

Foremost among the scholars, who studied the legacy of Ibn Khaldun from the philosophical historical side, was the noted Austrian orientalist Baron Von Kremer, who wrote his famous treatise: *Ibn Khaldun und seine Kultur-Geschichte der Islamischen Reiche*, "Ibn Khaldun and his history of the civilisation of the Muslim Empire," and presented it to the Academy of Sciences of the Vienna University in 1879. Von Kremer calls Ibn Khaldun "Kulturhistoriker" (the Historian of Civilisation), who wrote the history of the civilisation of Muslim nations. In fact he

was the first Muslim historian who devoted long chapters to the study of political institutions and forms of government and public institutions, such as justice, the police, administration, and their development in Muslim states, as well as to economical systems, commerce, customs, and taxes; then to professions, crafts, industries and means of livelihood; and lastly to science, letters and arts, their forms, characteristics and development in the Muslim world. This conclusion is only true in a limited sense, for Ibn Khaldun does not study these questions independently or as a principal subject, but treats them solely as being forms of "sociology" which is the main subject of his study. The phases of civilisation are in fact a criterion to the phases of development of society.

This appellation of Ibn Khaldun by Von Kremer as "Kulturhistoriker" did not find much support among critics. Professor Schmidt, who is one of the latest critics of Ibn Khaldun, makes the following comment on this opinion: "If it must be with certain reservations that Ibn Khaldun is classed as a 'Kulturhistoriker,' it is fair to consider whether, in this part of his work as well as in his political history, his main object may not have been to furnish illustrative examples and a collection elucidating what he regarded as the subject and the predicate of history, rather than a complete elaboration in accordance with the methods he recognised. In the earlier parts of the Prolegomena he sets forth

at great length the things he really has at heart, the principles of historical criticism, the fundamental assumptions on which historical research must be based—above all, his conception of the nature of history, its scope, its factors, its orderly sequences or laws. This grand and closely-reasoned view of history as the record of man's social development, dependent on natural causes, and resulting from the impact of environment and the reaction of individual and group, would have made the book epoch-making, had not the civilisation he described been doomed to a rapid decline, and the language in which he wrote been unknown to the young nations destined to carry out the work, so that the continuity of scientific progress became impossible and the makers of a new civilisation had to find their way slowly, without the assistance he could have offered, to some of the lofty positions already occupied by him."[1]

The Dutch scholar, De Boer, considers Ibn Khaldun a philosopher, and ranks him among Muslim philosophers, such as Avicenna, Al-Ghazali, Averroes, and Ibn Tufail; he emphasises the value of logic in forming his theories, and describes him as an excellent thinker. Ibn Khaldun, he remarks, denies rightly the value of alchemy and prophecy, and often opposes the principles of intellectual philosophy, with the simple precepts of Islam, either

1. N. Schmidt: *Ibn Khaldun, Historian, Sociologist and Philosopher* (New York, 1930), pp. 15-16.

through personal belief, or for political consideration. But his scientific theories were not influenced by religion, as much as they were by Aristotle and Plato. The Republic of Plato, and the Platonic philosophy of Pythagoras as well as the works of his predecessors, particularly Al-Masudi, did much in the formation of his thought. Ibn Khaldun tried to find a new philosophical system, which did not even occur to Aristotle and to create from history a philosophical system. He says that this system is nothing but social life, all that society contains, as well as its intellectual culture. The task of history is to explain how people work, how they earn their living, why they fight one another, how they assemble in large congregations led by some chiefs and how they are lastly inspired with the desire for the culture of high arts and sciences, and how civilisation develops from the primitive nomadic state to refined luxury, flourishes, and then declines and dies. Ibn Khaldun, continues De Boer, is undoubtedly the first who tried to explain fully the evolution and progress of society, as being causes by certain causes and factors, and to explain the characteristics of race, climate, the means of production, etc., and their effects on the formation of man's mind and sentiment, as well as on the formation of society. In the march of civilisation he perceives as organised internal harmony. De Boer concludes his study on Ibn Khaldun with the following words: "Ibn Khaldun's

hope to have a successor who would continue his research was realised, but not in Islam. Being without a predecessor, he remained also without a successor."[1]

II

Western criticism, however, was more interested in the social philosophy of Ibn Khaldun. In this domain Ibn Khaldun attained the utmost admiration and appreciation; and many contemporary sociologists tried to analyse his social theories and compare them with those of the masters of sociology.

Among these was the learned Professor Ludwig Gumplowicz of the University of Graz. In his social studies he devotes a long chapter to Ibn Khaldun and treats him as a sociologist. He studies many of his theories, compares them with those of modern sociologists, and explains how he proceeded with many of them. For example, he discovered the theory of the three generations concerning the rise and decline of families, long before Ottokar Lorenz, who studied it only at the end of the nineteenth century. But Gumplowicz says that Ibn Khaldun attains the summit of social investigation when he expounds his observations on the reciprocal action of social groups and that these groups themselves are the production of the *milieu*. In this domain his ideas about the conquering races are most important. His observations about the *milieu* and its effects

1. T.J. de Boer: *Geschichte der Philosophie im Islam* (1901), pp. 177-84.

prove that he knew the 'law of assimilation' five centuries before Darwin.[1] The fact that he emphasises the submission of man to the general laws which govern the animals shows that he knew Monism long before Hæckel.[2] It is astonishing to see how the measures recommended to victorious conquerors by Ibn Khaldun for maintaining their domination, concord with those in military organisations which, according to modern historical research, were resorted to by the founders of European states in the Middle Ages. At any rate the priority must be rightly attributed to the Arab sociologist, with regard to these counsels which Machiavelli, a century later, gave to rulers in his *Prince*. Even in this cold manner of studying things, and in this very rude realism, Ibn Khaldun could have served as a model to the intelligent Italian, who undoubtedly knew nothing about him. Moreover, Ibn Khaldun was able to establish, five centuries before, the origin of the two powers, the spiritual and the temporal, in the same manner as our professors of political and Canon Law. Gumplowicz concludes with the following words: "I wanted to show that long before not only Auguste Comte, but also Vico, whom the Italians wanted forcibly to consider as the first European sociologist, a pious Muslim studied with perspicacity the social phenomena, and expressed

1. Charles Darwin (1809-82), an English naturalist, celebrated for his theory of the origin of species.

1. Earnest Hæckel (1834-1919), a German biologist and naturalist, famous for his studies and new theories about the origin of species.

profound ideas on this subject. What he wrote is what we term today as 'Sociology'."[1]

At the same time, when Gumplowicz expressed these ideas, an Italian sociologist, Ferreiro, studied the theories of Ibn Khaldun, and confirmed Gumplowicz in considering him a 'sociologist,' and extolled his originality and priority.[2] The Russian sociologist Levine expressed the same idea and called Ibn Khaldun a 'social' philosopher.

M. Maunier, a French scholar, studies Ibn Khaldun from both the economical and social sides, in two vigorous articles, the first devoted to Ibn Khaldun's economical theories,[3] and the other to his social theories. M. Maunier considers Ibn Khaldun a philosopher, an economist and a sociologist. He describes his Prolegomena and his thought as follows: "It is a great mixture of universal laws, and an encyclopædia of the sciences of the age. It contains the miscellaneous elements of a complete study on sociology. Its method is particularly excellent, and reveals a true scientific spirit. If the ideas of Ibn Khaldun do not express a positive ideal, they are nevertheless based on analytic observation of events and are the mirror of facts. His philosophy is nothing but the explanation of his history, and his interpretations reveal a positive

1. Gumplowicz: *Un Sociologiste arbe an XIVeme siecle* (dans Apercus Sociologistiques), pp. 201-26

2. A Ferreiro: *Un Sociologo arabo del secolo XIV*, (La Riforma Sociale, 1896).

3 R Maunier: *Les idees economique d'un philosophe arabe au XIV, siecle* (Revue d'histoire economique et Sociale, (1912).

spirit with which our philosopher was in advance of his age." M. Maunier then proceeds to analyse Ibn Khaldun's social theories, and divides them into two sections: the general laws of social life, and the social laws of evolution, and concludes: "It seems that the social philosophy of Ibn Khaldun is tinted with great pessimism. Society is nothing but a while in the universal current of things; it goes away as everything else does. Life is like a rhythm; every change necessitates the contrary; every rise is followed by a fall. . . But the pessimism of Ibn Khaldun is that of an indifferent and resigned eye-witness. He does not judge; he observes, and in this he proves to be endowed with true scientific spirit, and that a place must be reserved for him in the history of positive sociology."[1]

Most of the critics of Ibn Khaldun observe this pessimism which characterises his philosophy. Von Kremer says that this pessimism is pushed by Ibn Khaldun into extreme limits, and compares him in this respect to Abul Ala al-Maarri. He thinks that this sentiment is due to the fact that Muslim countries and civilisation were in a state of decline at the time of Ibn Khaldun. But Ferreiro, however, attributes it to the conditions of the stormy political life which Ibn Khaldun led, and to the bitterness and disappointment he suffered from it. Much of the realism of his philosophy is due to this senti-

1. R. Maunier: *Les idees sociologiques d'un philosophe arabe au XIV., siecle* (L'Egypte contemporaine, 1917), p. 31.

ment; his pessimism was not a personal disposition inherent in his character, but only a quality of his thought, and the result of study and research. Ibn Khaldun was, as is shown by his eventful life, very confident, jovial and optimistic.

The German critic Von Wesendonk studies the theories of Ibn Khaldun on the rise and decline of states, and describe him as the most original spirit, an ideal in Arabic thought, and the last star which shone on the horizon of the Muslim liberal thought. He considers him, as Von Kremer does, a 'Kulturhistoriker', and calls him rightly as a master of the Machiavelli and Vico schools. He tries to apply his theories regarding the fall of states and dynasties to the German Empire and other European states and concludes thus: "It seems to the German, at the present time, that these ideas, imbibed with pessimism, are not the invention of a foreign thinker. The German Empire did not last long; in its flowery youth, it broke up with extraordinary rapidity. Should we try to attribute this tragedy to causes other than those to which Ibn Khaldun attributes the fall of the Almoravides and Almohades? The theories of Ibn Khaldun offer a valuable subject for contemplation; the great 'Kulturhistoriker' stands alone in the East, without any successor or disciple. His theories and conclusions may be applied most minutely and rightly to the state of Europe in the nineteenth century. The ideas and dispositions of the African thinker and statesman have their echo

on the course of events, whatever may be their direction, an echo which has its impression on contemporary thought."[1]

III

Stefano Colosio studied Ibn Khaldun from the economical side. Colosio remarks at first that "Ibn Khaldun, as regards the race from which he descended, the country where he was born, and the civilisation to which he belonged, may be ranked among great men who occupy the highest place in history." Ibn Khaldun discovered new fields in sociology, but he does not compete with Machiavelli as a historian, for he did not know, or did not try to apply those principles he propounded in his Prolegomena, in order to explain the causes of events related in his history. He preceded, however, Machiavelli, Montesquieu and Vico, discovering the principles of a new science, *i.e.*, the critical study of history. This is a fact, which the great Italian orientalist and historian, Amari, pointed to before Colosio, when he described Ibn Khaldun as the first writer in the world who treated the 'philosophy of history.' Colosio then reviews the theory of Ibn Khaldun or 'social determination,' and states that it is expressed in these words with which Ibn Khaldun begins his study about nomadic and civilised generations: "The difference of generations in their conditions is based on the difference of their

1. Von Wesendonk: *Ibn Khaldun, ein arabischer Kulturhistoriker des XIV, Fahrhunderts.* (Deutsche Rundschau, Januar 1923.

modes of living."[1]

Colosio extols particularly the economical theories of Ibn Khaldun. "The great Berber Historian," he says, "was able to discover in the Middle Ages the principles of social justice and political economy before Considerant, Marx and Baconine.[2] He then analyses the ideas of Ibn Khaldun about the state's function in the economical field, and its bad effects; about the political forces, and social classes, the different kinds of property, the social task of labour, its division into free and paid labour, the fact that free labour is a source of wealth, and lastly about the law of supply and demand. In all this, remarks Colosio, Ibn Khaldun was an original economist who understood the principles of political economy, and applied them with intelligence and skill, long before they were known to Western research Colosio concludes with the following words: "If the theories of Ibn Khaldun, about the complex life of society, place him foremost among the philosophers of history, his comprehension of the part played by labour, property and wages, places him foremost among the masters of modern economy."[3]

1. *The Prolegomena*, p. 101.

2 Considerant, a French socialist who wrote many works on Socialism (1808-1893); Karl Marx, a famous German economist and socialist, author of the greatest book on Socialism *Das Kapital* (1818-83); and Baconine, a Russian sociologist and economist and founder of the principles of Anarchy (1814-76).

3 Colosio: *Contribution a l'etuded' Ibn Khaldoun* (Revue du Monde Musulman, XXVI, 1914).

IV

One of the most recent critical studies of Ibn Khaldun is a treatise by Professor Nathaniel Schmidt of Cornell University (U.S.A.), in which he studies Ibn Khaldun as a historian, sociologist and philosopher. Professor Schmidt considers that Ibn Khaldun, as a historian, may be fairly compared with universal historians as Diodorus of Sicily, Nicolaus of Damascus, or Trogus Pompeius of the early Christian era, or with authors like Gatterer and Schlozer in the eighteenth century, although there can be no question that he was their superior both in the use of older sources and in original contributions. Had Ibn Khaldun left behind nothing but his political history, it would have been a monument of untiring industry, vast erudition, and keen judgment. For certain historical periods it would have remained an invaluable source of information. But even the abandonment of the annalistic method would not have raised him greatly above the level of such men as Bochari, Masudi, Tabari and Ibn al-Athir. Ibn Khaldun's title to enduring fame, however, does not rest on his history. It is bound up with that remarkable product of his pen, the Prolegomena to his history. Here his genius reveals itself in its full splendour. Here he scatters with lavish hands the ripe fruits of his reflection on the course of human history.[1]

As regards the philosophy of history, Professor

1. N. Schmidt: *Ibn Khaldun*, p. 14.

Schmidt remarks that Ibn Khaldun regards himself as the discoverer of the live space and nature of history; he is, no doubt, correct in maintaining that in the Muslim world no one has preceded him in this discovery. Our acquaintance with antiquity is incomparably greater. Yet so far, as we know today, he was indeed the first writer to define the field of history and to look upon history as a special science dealing with the facts that fall within its domain. In fact, nowhere does the conception of history appear as a special science having for its object all the social phenomena of man's life. This is Ibn Khaldun's contention. If it is proper to extend the scope of history, and if history is a science, the great Tunisian, who laid down and defended these propositions, seems in this respect to have had no predecessor, and it may well be claimed that he was the discoverer. Herein lies, no doubt, his most original contribution, though his keen mind opened new paths in many directions. In seeking for the causes of the rise and fall of political governments, he realised that they could not be looked for solely in the motives and ambitions, the aims and purposes, the strength of will and intellectual power of individuals. He observed that their influence was determined, not only by the character of the groups to which they belonged, but also by the general social conditions. This led him to consider the factors that influenced and shaped these social conditions. He recognised that they were due to ethic and racial

characteristics. But he perceived likewise that these peculiarities were themselves traceable to the physical environment, climate, water, soil, location and food. To understand the political development it was, therefore, necessary to include in the study all aspects of social life and also to take into account the physical factors. Hence the widening of the scope of history, and the broadening of the historian's task History becomes the science of human society. It is sociology. Ibn Khaldun, continues Professor Schmidt, is in spite of his Muslim orthodoxy, a philosopher as much as Auguste Comte, Thomas Buckle, or Herbert Spencer. His philosophy of history is not a theodicy as Hegel's.[1] There are indeed numerous quotations from the Qur'an, inserted in appropriate connections. But they add nothing to the argument and have no vital relation to it. They may have been designed to give the impression of concordance with the Holy Writ.

As regards the social side, Schmidt, like most of the critics, considers Ibn Khaldun the founder of sociology. He particularly agrees with Gumplowicz that sociology existed long before Auguste Comte, that Ibn Khaldun went beyond him in certain conclusions, and that he was foremost in studying the effects of habit, climate, soil and food, etc., as compared with Montesquieu, Buckle, Spencer and others.

Thomas Buckle, an English social historian; his work on the history of English civilisation is well known (1821-62): Spencer, an English philosopher, founder of the philosophy of evolution (1820-1903); and Hegel, a German philosopher, who studied specially philosophy of Religion and Spirit (1770-1831).

He quotes the words of the Spanish scholar Altamira: "It is sufficient that in the fifteenth century, when the European historiography was still so deficient and so alien to conceptions of the character Ibn Khaldun expounds and defends, there should have been written a book like the Prolegomena, in which all the problems are treated or suggested which, in a more discursive manner, have come to constitute the principal preoccupation of modern historians."[1]

Sufficient has been quoted of Western criticism about the legacy of Ibn Khaldun and his thought. Western criticism, as we have seen, raises his legacy to the highest level of appreciation and admiration, and ranks his work among the loftiest and most valuable fruits of human thought.

1. Schmidt: *Ibn Khaldun*, p. 26.

CHAPTER V

Ibn Khaldun and Machiavelli.

Points of similarity between Machiavelli and Ibn Khaldun. Social philosophy of Machiavelli as propounded in his *Prince*. Its relation to the subject of state policy treated by the Arabs. The Practical side in his philosophy. Machiavelli on the qualities of the "Ideal Prince". Cruelty and violence of Machiavellism. Common ideas of Machiavelli and Ibn Khaldun. Ibn Khaldun master of the Machiavellist School. Was Machiavelli influenced by Ibn Khaldun or any other Muslim thinker? Was Al-Hasan ibn al-Wazzan the link of this influence? Improbability of this hypothesis,—the two thinkers were both original.

MORE than a century after the death of Ibn Khaldun, Nicolo Machiavelli, the great Italian historian and statesman,[1] wrote a book which occupies in Western thought the same high place which the Prolegomena of Ibn Khaldun occupies in Islamic thought. This is the *Prince* (Il principe). It is, like the work of Ibn Khaldun, a wonderful piece of political and social study, characterised by much vigour and extreme originality. If there are not many points of material similarity between the two works, there are, on the other hand, many points of moral similarity, and there is particularly a strong resemblance between the two spirits as regards the circumstances and

1. Nicolo Machiavelli was born at Florence in 1469 and died in 1537. He worked for some time as foreign secretary to the Government of Florence, and was charged with many political missions in Italy, France and Germany. When the Medici resumed their rule in Florence in 1512, he was arrested, being accused of conspiracy, and suffered torture. He was then released through the intervention of Pope Leo X. He abandoned political life and wrote many works, among which was his famous *Prince*, *Florentine History*, studies about Titus Livius, and many political treatises and dramas.

environment where they were formed, their understanding of history and social phenomena, and lastly their power of exposition and supplying the testimony of historical events.

Many of the causes of this similarity between the two great thinkers could be attributed to strange resemblance in the times, and political and social circumstances in which both of them lived. The Italian principalities and republics, under whose ægis Machiavelli lived, offer in Italy the same political aspects and organisations as offered by the North African kingdom in the days of Ibn Khaldun, as regards their feuds and rivalries, their ambitions to conquer one another, and the successive passing of their sovereignty and the hands of different chieftains and usurpers. Machiavelli came in touch with these states, and passed some time in the service of one of them, *i.e.*, Florence, and was sent on different political missions. He was able to study closely many of the important political events and upheavals which took place at that time, and to make from this study a material for his reflections on the state and the prince, while Ibn Khaldun made from the events of his time a material for study and reflection.

The Muslim thinker is, however, richer in material, and wider in outlook, than the Italian thinker. Indeed Ibn Khaldun considers society in general, and all the phenomena that it presents—the subject of his study—and tries to understand

these phenomena and analyse them in the light of history and, lastly, to conclude from their successive rhythm and their interaction, some general social laws. But Machiavelli studies the state only, or rather studies certain categories of states, namely those which are presented by the ancient Greek and Roman history, and by the Italian history of his time. He studies the personality of the prince or the conqueror who rules a state, the good or bad qualities which are attached to that personality and the methods of government which are available to it. This limited study forms only a little part of the much more comprehensive study of Ibn Khaldun, *i.e.*, the third chapter of Book I of the "Prolegomena," where he speaks about the general conditions of states, monarchy, and monarchical functions. And even in this limited range, Ibn Khaldun surpasses Machiavelli greatly, and discovers the theory of 'vitality' (*Asabiyah*), and that of the age of states, and studies the characteristics of the states from the social point of view. Machiavelli on the other hand surpasses Ibn Khaldun in the fluency of his logic, the precision of exposition and conclusion, and the beauty of his style.

Machiavelli wrote his *Prince* in 1513, and dedicated it to Lorenzo de Medici, Prince of Florence. He explains the purpose of writing the book in his letter of dedication to the prince in the following words: "And although I may consider this work unworthy of your countenance, neverthe-

less I trust much to your benignity that it may be acceptable, seeing that it is not possible for me to make a better gift than to offer you the opportunity of understanding in the shortest time all that I have learnt in so many years, and with so many troubles and dangers." And adds: "Take, then, your Magnificence, this little gift in the spirit in which I send it, wherein, if it be diligently read and considered, you will learn my extreme desire that you should attain that greatness which fortune and your other attributes promise."[1] This Machiavelli tried to offer through his *Prince*, a guide to the princes of his time, to explain to them the best methods of government, and the best means of maintaining their power over the people they rule. The opinions and theories of Machiavelli are inspired by the events of ancient history, particularly by the events of his time which he witnessed and studied, and from which he concludes certain general laws, in the same manner as Ibn Khaldun who makes similar conclusions by studying society. The studies of Machiavelli are concise. He begins by speaking about the different kinds of principalities, and the means by which they are acquired; the manner to govern cities or principalities which lived under their own laws before they were annexed; the principalities which are acquired by one's own arms and ability, and those which are acquired by

1. *The Prince* (Everyman's), pp. 2-3.

the arms of others or by good fortune or by wickedness; the ecclesiastical and temporal principalities; the kinds of soldiery and mercenaries, and that which concerns a prince on the subject of the art of war. Machiavelli speaks then of the personality of the prince, the qualities for which princes are praised or blamed, liberality and meanness, cruelty and clemency, the way in which princes should keep faith, what they should do in order to avoid being despised and hated, how a prince should conduct himself in order to gain renown, the secretaries of princes, how flattery should be avoided, why the princes of Italy have lost their states, what fortune can effect in human affairs and, lastly, on the necessity to liberate Italy from the yoke of foreigners or the Barabinans as he calls them.

These are the items which form the subject of Machiavellian philosophy on states and princes. It appears, particularly from the writings of Machiavelli on the *Prince*, that he studied a subject which was treated by Muslim thinkers long before Ibn Khaldun. We mean the "monarchical politics," a subject which developed, since the third century of the Hijira, in Islamic thought into a special study of science: the science of politics as explained in a preceding chapter. As we have mentioned, the science of politics was understood by the Arabs in the early ages of Islam in a very limited sense, *i.e.*, to study the good qualifications

which a prince must enjoy, and the defects which he must avoid, in order to be fit for the presidency of a state or the accession of a throne, and be able to rule with power and capacity. Muslim thinkers then developed the meaning of politics, divided them into many kinds, studied 'monarchical politics' from the legal and administrative points of view as well as the position of the prince from the legal point of view, and the monoarchical functions. What the Italian thinker says about the qualifications, qualities, and duties of the prince, may be compared with this study of politics by Muslim thinkers since the later part of the third century of the Hijira. The subject was treated by Ibn Kutayba in his *Uyum al-Akhbar*, by Al-Mawardi in his *Al-Ahkam al-Sultaniyah*, by Al-Turtushi in his *Siraj al-Muluk*, by Al-Ghazali in his *Al-Tibr al-Masbuk* and, lastly, by Ibn al-Tiqtaqa in his *Al-Adab al-Sultaniyah*. In his study about the general conditions of the state and monarchy Ibn Khaldun treats the same subject, speaks about the essence of sovereignty and its kinds, the meaning of Caliphate and Imamate, and the different principles and theories appertaining to them and, lastly about the monarchical functions.[1] His study is characterised by those social conclusions and reflections which did not occur to any of his predecessors.

Machiavelli, on the other hand, reveals in his study a realistic rude spirit, while Muslim thinkers

1 *The Prolegomena*, pp. 156, 158, *et seq.*

speak about the prince or ruler as he must be, and about his ideal qualities as they must be; the Italian thinker studying his *Ideal Prince* from a purely practical point. He describes him as he is in fact, and paints his ideal qualities with realistic colours. He draws his conclusions from any success achieved or any failure suffered by the prince, either personally or through his qualities, without any consideration if these portraits or qualities are compatible with the ideal principles of morality as they were conceived through the ages. Whence this gloomy colour which stamps Machiavellism, and the severity, cruelty and wickedness which characterise its political theories, and make it to our days a striking example of treacherous policy, without conscience or scruples, deprived of all impartiality and abstention, and disregarding all human and moral considerations. Here are some specimens of the opinions which envelop the philosophy of Machiavelli and his *Ideal Prince* with dark colour:

(1) And again he (the prince) need not make himself uneasy at incurring a reproach for those vices without which the state can only be saved with difficulty, for if everything is considered carefully, it will be found that something which look like virtue, if followed, would be his ruin; whilst something else, which looks like vice, yet followed, brings him security and prosperity.

(2) And there is nothing which wastes so rapidly as liberality, for even whilst you exercise it you lose

the power to do so, and so become either poor or despised, or else, in avoiding poverty, rapacious and hated. And a prince should guard himself, above all things, against being despised or hated; and liberality leads you to both. Therefore it is wiser to have a reputation for meanness which brings reproach without hatred, than to be compelled through seeking a reputation for liberality to incur a name for rapacity which begets reproach with hatred.

(3) Caesar Borgia was considered cruel; notwithstanding his cruelty reconciled the Romagna, unified it, and restored it to peace and loyalty. And if this is rigthly considered he will be seen to have been much more merciful than the Florentine people who, to avoid a reputation for cruelty, permitted Pistoia to be destroyed. Therefore a prince, so long as he keeps his subjects united and loyal, ought not to mind the reproach of cruelty, because with a few examples he will be more merciful than those who, through too much mercy, allow disorders to arise, from which follow murder or robbery.

(4) Upon this a question arises: whether it is better to be loved than feared or *vice versa*? It may be answered that one would wish to be both but, because it is difficult to unite them in one person, it is much safer to be feared than loved, when one of the two must be dispensed with.

( ) Therefore a wise lord cannot, nor ought he to, keep faith when such observance may be turned

against him, and when the reasons that caused him to pledge it exist no longer.

(6) Therefore it is unnecessary for a prince to have all the good qualities I have enumerated, but it is very necessary to appear to have them. . . . And you have to understand this, that a prince, especially a new one, cannot observe all those things for which men are esteemed, being often forced, in order to maintain the state, to act contrary to fidelity, friendship, humanity and religion. Therefore it is necessary for him to have a mind ready to turn itself accordingly as the winds and variations of fortune force it.

(7) And, speaking of the policy of Ferdinand the Catholic of Spain against the Moors after the fall of Granada, he says: "Always using religion as a plea, so as to undertake greater schemes, he devoted himself with a pious cruelty to driving out and clearing his kingdom of the Moors; nor could there be a more admirable example, nor one more rare."[1]

From these concise specimens we can understand the spirit of Machiavellism in conceiving the state and the prince. Machiavellism is based on realistic facts, and these facts, however rude or monstrous they may be, occupy the first place in the foundation of the state and the policy of the prince. Hypocrisy, avarice, meanness cruelty, terror, treachery, breaking promises, disregarding fidelity, friendship, honesty and religion, and crushing every

1. *The Prince*, pp. 123, 130, 133-134, 142-44 and 178.

moral or human ideal—all these are not condemned by Machiavellism, and are not considered as vices. Thus, for Machiavelli, the ideal prince and the ideal statesman are tyrants, who resort to the most ruthless and monstrous means in maintaining their power, such as Pope Alexander VI, and his son Caesar Borgia (Duke of Valenteno).[1] Machiavelli traces in a special chapter some episodes of the life of Caesar Borgia, whom he knew and served. He declares his admiration for those sanguinary projects and methods which Caesar organised for the destruction of his enemies, prince or generals, and their treacherous murder. Hence this gloomy stamp which brands Machiavellist policy until our day. But, in fact, the Italian thinker reveals, in framing his philosophy, much vigour, skill and far-sightedness. These theories and principles, which may be condemned from the Platonic point of view, were always, and are still, the basis of triumphant policies. They are the symbol of the vigorous, realistic policy even up to our day.

* * *

Ibn Khaldun, as already said, devoted many chapters to the subject of state and sovereignty, and studied it from larger and more far-reaching

1. Pope Alexander VI or Alexander Borgia occupied the Papal throne from 1442-1503; his son Cæsar, master of Romagna and other Italian provinces, was born in 1476 and died after a very eventful life in 1507; he was renowned on account of his audacity, treachery and awful cruelty.

points of view, and greatly surpassed Machiavelli in studying its social aspect. The two thinkers, however, agree on many points. For example, the remarks of Ibn Khaldun in the beginning of the Prolegomena about the value of history in studying the conditions of nations; then his remarks about the effects of tyranny and arbitrary policy on the minds of people: the qualities of the princes, whether they are moderate or exaggerated, the defence of the state and the devotion of the soldiery, the competition of a prince with his people in commerce and gain, his covetousness for the money of his people and the effect thereof in inciting public fury, the creeping of anarchy into the state and the assaults of soldiery on people's property and lastly, his remarks about the secretaries of the prince (the Sultan).[1] There are all points or items which Machiavelli studies or approaches, either in his *Prince*, or in his work on the history of Florence (*Istorie Florentine*), where many philosophical and social reflections are to be found.[2] Machiavelli may not always agree with Ibn Khaldun, either in conclusions or in the way of exposition, but many of the opinions of the Muslim thinker find their echo in the ideas of the Italian thinker. Indeed Ibn Khaldun was the master of the political and social study, which Machiavelli, a century later, treated partly. He was the first man to study the social

1. *The Prolegomena.* pp 7, 141, 157-58, 235, 239, 249 and 305.
2. Compare the remarks of Machiavelli on similar subjects in the *Prince* pp 98, 108, 118, 126, 135, 149 and 183.

phenomena, to understand and explain the events of history, and to deduce from them social laws, in such a wonderful scientific manner.

"At any rate," says Professor Gumplowicz, the priority must be rightly attributed to the Arab sociologist (Ibn Khaldun) as regards those counsels which Machiavelli, a century later, gave to rulers in his *Prince*. Even in this cold manner of studying things, and in this very rude realism, Ibn Khaldun could have served as a model to the intelligent Italian who undoubtedly knew nothing about him."[1] Colosio says in comparing Ibn Khaldun with Machiavelli: "If the great Florentine instructs us in the art of governing people, he makes this as a far-sighted politician, but the learned Tunisian (Ibn Khaldun), was able to penetrate into the social phenomena, as a profound economist and philosopher, a fact which urges us to see in his work such a far-sightedness and critical art, as was totally unknown to his age."[2]

Lastly we may ask whether Italian thinker ever knew anything of Ibn Khaldun's work, or of any other works of Muslim thinkers on 'Monarchical politics,' and whether he profited by them? We think, with Gumplowicz, that when Machiavelli wrote his *Prince*, he knew nothing of Ibn Khaldun and his works and that he knew as well nothing of the works of Muslim thinkers on the subject. It is true

1. Gumplowicz : *Apercus Sociologiques*, p. 217.
2. Coloslo : *Introduction a l'etude d'Ibn Khaldoun.*

that some shades of Muslim thought were known in Italy before Machiavelli and during his time. There were some old cultural relations between the Muslims of Spain and North Africa, and the intellectual societies of Italy, and many Muslim works had been translated into Latin. But in Machiavelli's work there are traces of the fact, whatever, that he knew Ibn Khaldun or any other Muslim thinker on his subject. If there are many points of similarity between the two thinkers as regards their comprehension and analysis of history, their study of events, and their sociological conclusions, this can be attributed, as explained before, to a great similarity in the times and conditions in which both lived and, lastly, to similarity in the political maturity which both acquired by participating in the events of their time and serving the princes and statesmen of their age. It may be that Machiavelli heard of Ibn Khaldun and his Prolegomena towards the end of his life, ten years after writing his *Prince*, about 1523 or 1524. At that time the Moorish converted writer, Al-Hassan ibn Muhammad al-Wazzan, known as Leo Africanus, was living in Rome, and wandering in the North of Italy. He was born at Granada about 1495, educated at Fez, and was charged by its Court with some political missions. In 1516 he went for pilgrimage to Mecca and returned by way of Constantinople. While on his way back to Morocco he was seized by a band of Sicillian pirates, and carried to Rome, where the

Pope converted him under the name of Johannes Leo. He then devoted himself to research and composition and wrote an Arabic-Latin Dictionary, as well as his famous work on the *Description of Africa*, which he afterwards translated into Italian. He was at Bologna (in the North of Italy) near Plorence, in 1524, according to information inserted at the end of his Latin Dictionary, of which there is a copy in his own hand writing in the Escurial.[1] It is possible that Ibn al-Wazzan met and knew Machiavelli in Rome, then a great centre of learning. In fact Machiavelli was in Rome in 1525: he went there to present his *Florentine History* to his friend and patron Pope Clement VII (Giuliano de Medici). If the hypothesis of the meeting of the two men is right, it may be possible to say that Machiavelli knew something about Muslim works. Ibn al-Wazzan must have spoken about them to his Italian friends. It is also very probable that Ibn Khaldun was foremost among the Muslim thinkers, who may have been the subject of such conversations as his fame was still very great in North Africa, where Ibn al-Wazzan had passed his youth and prosecuted his studies. But whatever may be the value of such hypothesis we cannot say that Machiavelli was influenced in formulating his political and social philosophy by any works of Muslim origin; no such influence whatever could be traced in his work. He was undoubtedly an original thinker, as was also

1. See Casiai's *Bibliotheca AraboHispana Excurialensis*, Vol. i. p. 172.

Ibn Khaldun. Each of the two great thinkers paved his own way, and enjoyed his own inspiration. The *Prince* was a great conquest in the thought of the Renaissance as the Prolegomena was a great conquest in Muslim thought.

APPENDIX

Bibliographic Review of Ibn Khaldun's Historical Work, "Kitab al-Ibar"

Publication of the first parts of Ibn Khaldun's work. The Prolegomena appears in Paris and Cairo. The Bulak edition. Significance of the dedication. Translation and manuscripts.

I

IBN KHALDUN'S work in spite of its value and importance remained unpublished till the middle of the last century. It had no circulation with the exception of some small parts and selected chapters from his Prolegomena and History, which were translated and published occasionally. From this time onwards scholars devoted greater care to the publication of his work. The first large part of his History, dealing with the history of the Aghlabites and Muslim domination in Sicily, was published in 1841 by Noel des Vergers, together with a French translation, under the title: *Histoire de l'Afrique sous les Aghlabites et la Sicile sous la Domination musulmane*. In 1858 the Prolegomena appeared in Paris in three volumes, edited by Quatremere after a manuscript of the Royal Library, within the collection known as *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliotheque de Roi*, occupying volumes XVI to XIX. At the same time the Prolegomena was published in Cairo for the first time in 1274 A.H. (1858 A.D.) by Shaikh Nasr Alhurainy after

another manuscript, whose preface contains a passage of dedication which is not contained in the Paris manuscript. The Prolegomena was then published in Birut in 1879, and was afterwards published several times. The Bulak (Cairo) Government Press then published Ibn Khaldun's whole work *Kitab al-Ibar* appearing successively in seven large volumes, the last appearing in 1284 A.H. (1868 A.D.). It was published after several manuscripts all lacking some parts, but completing each other. The Prolegomena was copied from the edition of 1274 A.H. containing the aforesaid passage of dedication. This passage throws particular light on the history and value of the copy which contains it. There the author dedicates this copy of his book to the library of "his master, Sultan Abu Faris, Abd al-Aziz ibn Abil Hasan of Banu Mareen" and says that he "sends it to their prosperous library for scholars in the Quarauiyin Mosque at Fez, their capital." This Sultan Abd al-Aziz is the son of Ibn Abil Abbas, son of Ibn Abi Salem, son of Sultan Abil Hasan. He ascended the throne of Morocco in 796 A.H. and died in Safar 799 A.H. The dedication of Ibn Khaldun of his book to Sultan Abd al-Aziz must have occurred in this period of 796-799 A.H. Modern research has already found two volumes of this copy sent by Ibn Khaldun to Fez ; they are still conserved in the library of the Quarauiyin Mosque, and were discovered by M. Alfred Bel, who mentions them in his

catalogue of the library of the Quaraulyin Mosque, and states that one of them carries the formula of Waqf,[1] M. Levy-Provencal then verified the authenticity of this discovery in an article published in the *Journal Asiatique* together with a facsimile of the aforesaid Waqf formula, which is dated the 21st Safar, 799 A.H. At the end of this volume the calligraphist states that he "copied it from the approved original of the author".[2] The presentation of this copy by Ibn Khaldun took place at the time when Sultan Al-Zahir Barquq, King of Egypt, sent his presents to the Sultans of North Africa, as a result of the relations which Ibn Khaldun tried to organise between the Egyptian Court and the Berber Courts. Ibn Khaldun sent this copy of his book to Morocco with the emissaries of Sultan Al-Zahir. Meanwhile Sultan Abd al-Aziz died, but the news of his death was not yet known in Cairo. It is certain that this copy presented by Ibn Khaldun to his previous masters and patrons, the Banu Mareen, was one of the most complete and best revised copies of his work. Fifteen years had passed since Ibn Khaldun wrote the first copy of his work. During his stay in Cairo, in this interval, he made many corrections and additions in his work. This revision comprised all the sections of the book ; and Ibn Khaldun was able, in many places, to follow contemporary events till the years 795, 796 and 797

1. A Bel : *Catologue des livres arabes de la Bibliotheque de la mosquee de El-Quarauiyin a Fez*, p. 6.

2. *Journal Asiatique* (Juillet-Septembre), pp.163-64.

A.H. as has been previously explained. There is in the Egyptian Library (Mustapha Pasha Callection) a manuscript copy of *Kitab al-Ibar*, in ten volumes, and lacking one volume (the seventh of the edited copy) Its preface contains the passage of dedication mentioned above, which appears to prove that it might have been copied from the original copy presented to the Court of Fez.[1]

The Bulak copy of *Kitab al-Ibar* is, therefore, one of the most complete of the known copies of Ibn Khaldun's work in spite of its many typographical errors and gaps.

II

After the publication of the Prolegomena in 1858 by Quatremere, it was translated into French by Baron de Slane ; a work which was originally intended by Quatremere, but remained unachieved on account of his death. The French version of M. de Slane appeared in 1363-68, in three large volumes under the title : *Less Prolegomenes d'Ibn Khaldoun* par M. de Slane, Member de l'Institut. De Slane followed the Arabic version edited by Quatremere, with few exceptions, where he made a comparison with other manuscripts. He begins by translating Ibn Khaldun's autobiography (*Al-Taarif*) and then completes his biography till his death, by consulting the Egyptian contemporary sources (Makrizi, Al-Aini, Ibn Qadi Shohba). De Slane complains of Ibn

1. This copy is preserved under No. 65, Hist, M.

Khaldun's style, saying that it is weak and often ambiguous, and that he uses so many pronouns, that it is sometimes difficult to understand him.[1] In fact there is much ambiguity in de Slane's translation ; it is not right, however, to attribute this to the obscurity of the original text, but is due in most cases to the weakness of the French version itself.

De Slane also published a large section of Ibn Khaldun's History, *i.e.*, that which concerns the history of the Berber kingdoms, in two large volumes entitled : *Tarikh al-Dowal al-Islamiyah bil-Maghrib* (Algiers, 1863) : he consulted many manuscripts, abridging the text in some places, and making additions from other authors. Some years before, de Slane had published a French version of this section, which appeared in four volumes in Algiers (1852-1856) under the title : *Histoire des Berberes el des Dynasties musulmanes de l'Afrique Septentrionale.*

The Prolegomena was translated into Turkish early in the eighteenth century by Perizade, who died in 1749 A. D. (1162 A.H.). Other portions of the History were translated into French, of which the following may be cited : *Histoire de Benou Zayan*, translated by Dozy ; and *Histoire des Benou al-Ahmar Roisde Grenade*, translated by G. Demombynes, both published in the *Journal Asiatique* ; and a larger portion about Banu Abd al-Wad was translated by A. Bel, and published in Algiers in three volumes

1. De Slane : *Less Prolegomenes d'Ibn Khaldoun*, Vol. i, p. 112.

under the title : *Histoire des Beni Abdel Wad Rois de Telemcan.*

Some portions were translated into German, of which the following may be cited : *Die Geschichte der Oqailiden Dynastie,* translated by Tiesenhausen ; and some chapters about the occupation of the crusaders of the Syrian coasts *Geschichte der Franken welche die Kusten und Grenzlaender Syriens besetzten,* translated by Tornberg ; and some chapters of the Prolegomena and History translated by Von Hammer and Von Kremer. A German translation of Ibn Khaldun's theories on the state appeared recently with commentaries by Edwin Rosenthal under the title : *Die Gedanken Ibn Khaldoun's uber den Staat.*

Some parts of the Prolegomena were translated into Italian by Lanci ; and Amari translated the part concerning the history of Sicily and the part concerning the history of Yemen was translated into English by H. Cassels Kay ; and some chapters of the Prolegomena were translated by Prof. Flint. Some other parts were also translated into Latin, Russian and other languages.

III

There are manuscript copies of the Prolegomena in Berlin, Leyden, Florence, Leningrad, the British Museum, Milan, Munich, Paris and Vienna. There are manuscripts of the whole work, either complete or lacking in some parts, in the Egyptian Library (where there are two copies nearly complete, and

some isolated volumes), Al-Azhar Mosque, in Osmaniah, Jeni Jami, and Ibrahim Pasha's collections at Constantinople, in the Quarauiyin Mosque at Fez, the British Museum, Oxford, Turin, Tubingen, Tunis and Algiers.[1] Lastly there is in the Egyptian Library (Mustapha Pasha Collection) a complete and, as far as we know, a unique copy of Ibn Khaldun's autobiography (*Al-Rihla al-Taarif*) which was afterwards copied for some other libraries and collections.

1. These copies are all pescribed in detail inthe Catalogue of these libraries.

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